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DEVELOPMENT
OF
KARNATAKA LEGISLATURE

Dr. K. S. MUNE GOWDA

1988

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To

MY PARENTS

Publisher's Note

We are happy to present to the reading public "Development of Karnataka Legislature" by Dr. K. S. Mune Gowda.

Dr. K. S. Mune Gowda is one of our fine scholars and the present work is his doctoral thesis. We are grateful to the scholar for kindly permitting us to publish his thesis in the present form.

We are grateful to the Director, University Printing Press for the neat printing.

K. T. VEERAPPA
Director

Preface

Ever since the question of giving representation to Indians in the administration of this country was raised in the British Parliament in 1858, the movement for associating the people of the land with the work of legislation gained ground and resulted in pursuing the policy of legislative devolution in the provinces. The exclusion of the people from the work of the Government deprived the rulers of the opportunity of knowing the views of the people and of removing any misunderstanding that might exist among the people of about the views and intentions of the Government. One of the main causes of the Indian Revolt of 1857 was the lack of such understanding between the rulers and the ruled.

Under similar circumstances and almost for the same reason the Revolt of 1831 occurred in the Princely State of Mysore which resulted in the deposition of the Maharaja and imposition of the Commission rule in Mysore for fifty years. At the time of rendition in 1881, to remove the possible occurrence of any such misunderstanding, a Council and a deliberative body were established to link the autocratic authority with democratic views.

In this thesis, an attempt has been made to trace the factors and to analyse the circumstances leading to the creation of the deliberative bodies and their gradual growth into full-fledged legislative institutions in the erstwhile Princely State of Mysore which became Part 'B' State under the Constitution of India.

In preparing this thesis, I have consulted various books, reports, journals, legislative debates and other unpublished and published materials made available in the Karnataka State Archives and Karnataka Legislature Secretariat, Bangalore.

I am thankful to the Librarians of Mysore University, Puna University, Karnataka Legislature Library and the Director, Karnataka State Archives, Bangalore.

I owe a deep sense of gratitude to late Sri K. Kannan, member, Legislative Council, Karnataka, Sri S. Sivappa, formerly leader of Opposition in Mysore Legislative Assembly and Chairman, Legislative Council, Karnataka and Sri M. Srinivas, Member, Legislative Assembly,

Karnataka for their help and timely assistance at various stages of preparing this thesis.

My heartfelt thanks are due to Dr. Usha Mehta, Professor of Civics and Politics, Bombay University and Dr. K. H. Cheluvaraju, formerly Professor of Political Science, Bangalore University and now Vice-Chancellor, Gulbarga University, who had the patience to read the manuscript and made valuable suggestions for improvising my thesis.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my grateful thanks to Sri D. V. Urs, former Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University for his encouragement and friendly advice so abundantly extended to me and he was generous enough to find time, amidst his busy administrative schedule, to write a foreword to this book.

I am grateful to my guide Prof. D. N. Pathak formerly Director, University School of Social Sciences, Gujrat University and Vice-Chancellor, Saurashtra University, who has been a source of encouragement and evinced keen interest in guiding me to hammer out this thesis amidst his tight schedule of academic and administrative responsibilities.

I must thank Sri N. Hanumaiah, Director, University Printing Press, and Sri V. N. Srinivasa Murthy, the then Director-in-charge and his able assistants in the Press for their cheerful efforts in neatly printing this book.

I am most thankful to Sri K. T. Veerappa, Director, Sri R. L. Anantharamaiah, Deputy Director, and Sri D. K. Ere Gowda, Editorial Assistant, University Prasaranga for taking personal interest in publishing this work.

Finally, I am grateful to Gujarat University for awarding Ph.D. Degree for this thesis synchronising with the Centenary year of the Mysore Representative Assembly.

Mysore

K. S. Mune Gowda

Foreword

The erstwhile princely State of Mysore is a fascinating subject of study. It had the enviable record of being called a 'Model State'. It established for itself some important traditions - traditions which moulded its development even after independence.

From a political perspective the evolution of the legislature in the princely State of Mysore is a most important landmark. At a time when freedom was at best a distant vision and political participation regarded as an aberration this small compact State took what was a giant leap by establishing in 1881 the Representative Assembly. It is all too easy to wear modern spectacles and brand the Representative Assembly as a well meaning but ineffectual debating society. However, a hinder appreciation can be made only when it is set against a contemporary background.

We should remember that it was only in 1881 that the State of Mysore was handed back to the Wodeyar's, the royal family of Mysore. This was after fifty years of Commission rule by the British Imperial Government. The State of Mysore was restored to the Maharaja after repeated entreaties. Almost the first important landmark after the rendition was the institution of the Representative Assembly. In fact the idea of such an Assembly had been mooted by Sir James Gordon, the last Chief Commissioner of Mysore in 1879 itself. The idea was made practical by Dewan Rangacharlu. Admittedly the beginnings of the Representative Assembly were modest and in composition initially confined to ryots and merchants. But what is important is that for the first time a nexur was established between ruler and subject. The establishment of the Representative Assembly also acted as an inducement for other popular bodies to be instituted. The District and Local Boards followed in the make of the Representative Assembly. Perhaps at this distance of time it is difficult to recapture the freshness and vigour which this institution, an innovation at that time, must have imparted to the political life of the State.

It is this exciting theme which Dr. Mune Gowda has chosen to elaborate. A handful of scholars have investigated the socio-economic and political life of princely Mysore but the majority of whom have happened to be foreigners. It is only in the fitness of things that a

scholar from the old Mysore State should have taken up this study of the development of the Karnataka Legislature.

It has become fashionable today to judge our past achievements with a cynical eye. The circumstances of the times are forgotten. Those who are critical of the limited power enjoyed by the Representative Assembly forget that it helped in creating over a period of time a new ethos. For instance, barely a quarter century after the Assembly made its appearance came the Legislative Council. Not many are likely to know that the institution of the Legislative Council was preceded by lively debate regarding its necessity and usefulness. A sense of preparation, not *adhocism*, marked its inception. The debates in the Council in the twenties and thirties illustrate clearly the level of seriousness which prevailed.

Most important of all these bodies, the Council in particular, let to political awakening of a high order in the State. In this sense the development of legislative institutions is no mere chronicle of events, it is on the contrary, a major portion of the political history of a society.

It is this quality of looking at the growth of the legislature from a pan-disciplinary perspective that stands out in Dr. Mune Gowda's work. He has been a well-known teacher of Political Science and has inspired several students in their research work. His ability to look at contemporary issues within a historical frame is reflected throughout this work. None of these will surprise all those familiar with him as teacher and researcher.

I have a certain personal pleasure in writing this foreword. Dr. Mune Gowda has been a colleague and friend for several decades. He has always been guided by a sense of high purpose and great courage. He has been a dedicated teacher to whom his students were the first charge on his energies, a fact which I have seen during my long association with him. His official retirement from the University has only meant more time for his creative pursuits.

I am pleased to have been asked to write the foreword to what must surely be one of the most important contributions from the University of Mysore.

With best wishes.

D. V. URS
Chairman
Pre-University Education Board
Karnataka

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Chapter I

Karnataka in the Historical Perspective

The Karnataka region is situated in the heart of the Deccan plateau. It is one of the oldest spots in India possessing remains of great antiquity indicating the life of the most ancient man, long before civilization had introduced the means of advanced social and scientific contacts. The modern Karnataka which is situated between the river Krishna in the North and the Cauvery in the South is bound by the State of Maharashtra in the North and Goa in the North-West, Andhra Pradesh in the East, Tamilnadu in the South-East and South, and Kerala in the South-West.

The history of South India begins with the advent of Aryans into this area. Till about 600 B.C., the Southern India was unknown to Aryan inhabitants of the north. Gradually Aryans migrated into the region beyond the Vindhyas. Sage Agasthya is supposed to have Aryanised South India. Karnataka occupies a significant place in the political and cultural history of ancient India. The great forest region of Dandakaranya is attributed to this area in the South. The earliest reference to Karnataka as a domain can be seen in the Great Epic *Mahabharata*.[1] Historians infer that between 4th century B.C. and 4th century A.D., Karnataka must have emerged as a well established principality with people speaking Kannada language. Political history of Karnataka, based on the study of sources available, refers to the relation of the two great Mauryan emperors, Chandragupta and Ashoka with Karnataka. Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Mauryan empire spent his last days at Sravanabelagola as a devoted Jaina Muni, along with Bhadrabhahu. There is still more evidence to prove that during the period of Ashoka the great, Karnataka was an integral part of Mauryan empire. B. Lewis Rice says 'that the North of Mysore may even at that period have been a part of the Mauryan empire is not beyond probability'.[2] The rock edicts of Ashoka found in Molakalmuru taluk of Chitradurga district and in Koppal and Moski in Raichur

1. Ranganath S. Mugali, *The Heritage of Karnataka*, p.3.
2. Rice B. Lewis–Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p.9.

districts, amply testify to this. The area around Brahmagiri and Siddapura was under an officer called Mahamantra appointed by a Mauryan King to govern over this region. Ashoka despatched Buddhist monks to Mahishamandala (Mysore). What happened to Deccan provinces after the death of Ashoka was not clearly known even to tradition. On the disruption of the Mauryan empire, the first notable power which came into prominence in the region of Karnataka inheriting the Mauryan Provinces South of Vindhyas, was Satavahanas, who reigned from about 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. Their kingdom spread over a large part of the Deccan extending from the rivers Narmada and Godavari to Krishna and Thungabhadra and even projecting into the northern parts of Mysore State. A good number of their coins and inscriptions are found in Karnataka region. Simuka was the founder of this dynasty. Gauthamiputra Sathakarni, a distinguished ruler of this family, consolidated the empire and extended its boundaries from Krishna in the South to Malwa and Kathiawar in the North and from Berar in the East, to Konkan in the West. He was called by the celebrated name 'The Lord of the Vindhyas'. His son Pulamayi II ruled from 96 A.D. to 119 A.D. Satavahana Kingdom reached its zenith under him when he enjoyed political sway over large portions of Southern India. His army stretched its arms to the three oceans, the Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. At the heights of his rule Pulamayi assumed the title of 'Dakshinapathi'. But after him, the empire began to decline and the main line of the Satavahanas disappeared from the political scene. But certain feudatories of Satavahanas held sway in the southern parts of India. Some of the smaller kingdoms which kept up the Satavahanas tradition were the Cutus ruling at Banavasi who served as link between Satavahanas and the Kadambas of later period; the Banas were ruling in the East of Mysore and parts of Tamilnadu; Alupas in the West coast; Sendrakas in Nagarakhanda; Nalas in Bellary and Karnul districts and Punnada kings in the South of Mysore. By the middle of 4th century A.D. the Kadambas ruled over the northern parts of Karnataka while Gangas held sway in the southern parts. By this time, the Satavahanas had lost their supremacy by giving way to the Pallavas. Kadamba dynasty was founded by Mayurasarma. The name Kadamba was ascribed to the Kadamba tree which grew near the ancestral home of Mayurasarma. Mayurasarma made some breaches in the Pallava frontiers and then captured the area extending upto Srisailam. Pallavas ultimately were forced to recognize the supremacy of Mayurasarma over the territory extending from the Indian Ocean to the Malaprabha river.

After establishing his position, Mayurasarma embarked on a series of wars defeating the Traikutas, Abhiras, Pallavas, Pariyatrakas, Sendrakas, and king of Punnata. According to Chandravalli records, he seemed to have gained a victory over the Mukharis of Rajasthan

and the Sakas of Ujjaini.[3] His great grandson Kakusthavarma became so prominent as to induce the imperial Guptas of the North and Vakatakas of Central India to enter into matrimonial alliance with his family. Skandagupta, son of Kumaragupta, married a daughter of this King, and another Kadamba Princess, Ajjita Bhattarika was given in marriage to Narendrasena of Vakataka dynasty. In recognition of these alliances, the famous poet Kalidasa appeared to have been sent to the Court of the Kadamba King as an envoy of the Guptas. Another daughter of Kakusthavarma was given in marriage to Madhava III, a King of the Ganga dynasty in South. The expansionist policy of the succeeding Kadamba Kings brought them into conflict with the Pallavas and Gangas in the South. His grandson Krishnavarma II suffered a great defeat at the hands of Pulakesi I of the Chalukya family. While the Kadambas ruled over Karnataka above Tungabhadra from 4th to 6th centuries A.D., during the same period, the Gangas established their kingdom on the banks of river Cauvery and continued to rule till the end of 10th century A.D., when they lost their kingdom to the Rashtrakutas.

The turn of 6th century witnessed a new era of political paramountcy opened by the Chalukyas of Badami. The founder of this dynasty was Pulakesi I, who defeated the last of the Kadamba Kings, Krishnavarma II. Pulakesi became the political successor of the Kadambas. His capital was Badami in the Bijapur district. He performed *Aswamedha Yaga* to commemorate his victories in the South as well as in the North. He subdued the Kadambas, the Gangas, and the Alupas. He captured Puri, the capital of the Maurya Kings of Konkana. The Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras of North bowed before his might. He humbled the King Harsha, the illustrious suzerin of the North. To commemorate this event, Pulakesi assumed the title 'Parameswara' which means Paramount Sovereign. His next move was towards East and further South which run over the Kosala and Kalinga. After subduing Pishtapura, he attacked the Pallava King Mahendraverma who took shelter behind the ramparts of Kanchi. He next crossed the Cauvery and entered into friendly relations with the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas. These conquests spread Pulakesi's reputation not only over the length and breadth of India but even beyond the boundaries of India. Envoys were exchanged between the Chalukya emperor and the King of Persia, Khushru II. Pulakesi ranked among the foremost monarchs not only of Karnataka but also of India.[4] He ruled for 33 years. At the end of his reign, Pulakesi suffered a setback when he was defeated by the Pallava King Narasimhavarma. But, after a short eclipse of 13 years, Vikramadithya I, son of Pulakesi II,

3. Desai P. B., *History of Karnataka*, p.57.
4. Desai P. B., op. cit., p.99.

recovered all the Chalukya territories. Vinayadithya, son of Vikramadithya I, launched a campaign towards the North and defeated Yeshovarma of Kanauj on the banks of Ganga and Yamuna. Vikramadithya II, grandson of Vinayadithya, undertook three expeditions to South and routed the Pallava King with vengence but acted with exemplary generosity, by bestowing gifts to the poor and needy and also returned heaps of gold to Rajasimheswara temple. The Arabs, who threatened his kingdom in the North, were driven back by his subordinate Avanijanashraya Pulakesi who governed the Gujarat region.[5]

Rashtrakutas :

Rashtrakutas, who replaced the Chalukyas of Badami, ruled over Karnataka region for two centuries (757-973 A.D.). Malkhed in Gulbarga district was their capital. Danthidurga was the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. To begin with, he was a subordinate of Chalukya King Vikramadithya II, after whose death he grew in power and finally overthrew the Chalukya King Kirthivarma II, son and successor of Vikramadithya II. Krishna I, uncle of Danthidurga, subdued the Ganga King Sripurusha and placed his kingdom on secure foundations. He encouraged art and religion. The marvellous Kailasanath Temple at Ellora was carved out at his instance. Dhruva, son of Krishna, was considered as one of the foremost among the Kings of Rashtrakuta dynasty. He overpowered the rebellions of the Gangas and the Pallavas in the South and extended his territory to the banks of Cauvery. He defeated the Chalukyas of Vengi in the East and also launched a campaign or conquest in the North. When th Pallas of Bengal and Prathiharas of Gurjaradesa were trying to capture Kanauj, Dhruva entered the arena as third contender, and by his strategy and manoeuverability routed his rivals one after the other and emerged victorious as a master of the region between Ganga and Yamuna without annexing these areas to his realm. Govinda III, son of Dhruva, made another expedition to North and completed his father's task by defeating the King of Kanauj and moving upto Himalayas, gained an unprecedented success and glory both in the North and in the South.

While Govinda was an illustrious conqueror, his son and successor Amoghavarma who is also known in the Kannada literary world as Nripatunga was a great scholar and a peace loving ruler. He devoted himself for the welfare of the people and he was rightly called a Philosopher King. He was the author of the earliest known work on Kannada poetics, *Kavirajamarga* and also another work *Prasnottaramala.*

Another great ruler of this dynasty was Krishna III, who subdued the territories of Malawa, Gurjara and Prathiharas in the North and crushed the might of Cholas and Pallavas in the South. His empire

5. Desai P. B., op. cit., p.104.

was extended in the South upto Rameswaram. Krishna built the temples of Krishneswara and Gandamarthanda near Rameswaram and also set up a pillar of victory to mark his glory in the entire South.

From the point of view of war and politics, the Rashtrakuta empire was the most brilliant chapter in the history of Karnataka. The river Cauvery in the South and Narmada in the North were the boundaries of this empire. By virtue of their astounding military exploits, the Rashtrakutas attained paramountcy among the contemporary crowned heads of India. Their reputation travelled far and wide. According to the testimony of the Arab chronicler Sulaiman Soudagar, the Rashtrakuta empire was reckoned as one of the four great empires of the world, the other three being Arabia, Eastern Rome and China. [6]

As the Rashtrakuta empire began to decline, the Chalukyas by 973 A.D. re-established their ascendency under Taila II, who was a vassal of Krishna III. Taila had to fight many battles to consolidate and stabilise his position. He faced boldly the menace from the Parmars of the North and Cholas in the South. Though war was his major occupation, he promoted religion and patronised the literary men. Ranna, the celebrated Kannada poet adorned his court. The conflict between Chalukyas and Cholas was prolonged for about a century over the affairs of the eastern Chalukya Kings of Vengi. Chalukya King Jayasimha who came to throne in 1015 A.D., faced boldly and frustrated the combined attack against him by Paramara, Kalachuri and Chola Kings. Someswara I succeeded his father Jayasimha. He successfully thwarted all the attempts of the Cholas to cross the river Thungabhadra on the one hand and to occupy Vengi on the other. He also deputed his son Vikramadithya VI, to go to North to establish his influence there. Kalyan in the Bidar district of present Karnataka State, was made the capital of the Chalukyas.

Comparatively the rule of Vikramadithya for a period of fifty years, was one of tranquility and peace. For about almost a century, the Chalukyas and the Cholas opposed each other without any tangible results. Hence the two families turned their attention to the welfare of their subjects. Vikramadithya was a liberal patron of learning. Distinguished scholars from different parts of the country visited his court. Notable among them were Bilhana from Kashmir, and Vijnaneswara, the author of Mithakshara, a code of laws based on the Smritis, flourished in the court of Vikramadithya. This period was an age of prosperity and plenty. Vikramadithya immortalised himself by starting a calendar after his own name known as the Chalukya-Vikrama era. This era commenced on the 26th February 1077 A.D. Towards the end of his rule, Vikramadithya realised his long cherished desire

6. Krishna Rao M. V. - *Glimpses of Karnataka*, p.35.

by invading Vengi in the eastern part and thereby established his supremacy from the East coast to West coast.

The reign of Someswara III, son of Vikramadithya, was quiet as he was a scholar King. He wrote the famous work *Abhilashitha-Rathachinthamani.* By the closing years of his rule the forces of disintegration were set in owing to the weakness of central authority and disloyalty among the subordinates.

In 1162 A.D., Bijjala of Kalachuri family, a vassal of Chalukyas usurped the throne from the last King Taila III. The Kalachuri rule lasted only for a brief period of twenty years. Thereafter, the Chalukya rule was restored by Someswara IV, but the disintegrating forces which had already set in, had badly damaged the strength and influence of the Chalukyas. By 1195 A.D., with the downfall of the Chalukyas, the glorious era of a great empire came to a close. On the ruins of this great empire there emerged three dynasties which formed the nucleus of modern States of Karnataka, Andhrapradesh and Maharashtra. These three dynasties were the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra (Halebidu), Kakathiyas of Warangal and the Yadavas of Devagiri.

The Yadavas of Devagiri, who are also known as Seunas emerged out of the wreckage of Chalukyas, established themselves in the Nasik region of the present Maharashtra, by declaring their independence about 1182 A.D. During the rule of Singhana II, the Seunas reached the zenith of power. The boundaries of the kingdom extended upto the Narmada in the North, the Thungabhadra in the South, Arabian sea to the West and Ananthpur and Karnool area in the Andhra region in the East. A series of threats came on the Seunas from the North. Allauddin Khilji fell on Devagiri in 1275 A.D., and took away a large slice of wealth. Again in 1307 A.D., Delhi Sulthan sent his General, Mallikaffer who invaded Devagiri after defeating the King of Devagiri.

Hoysalas :

While Seunas were ruling above Thungabhadra, the Hoysala dynasty held sway over southern region of Karnataka below Thungabhadra. Sala was the founder of the Hoysala dynasty. Hoysalas were the feudatories of Chalukya Kings. When Chalukya's reign began to decline, Hoysalas asserted their independence and ruled over Karnataka region over two and a half centuries, with Dwarasamudra (Halebidu) as their capital. Vishnuvardhana (1111-1141 A.D.) was perhaps the greatest among the Hoysala Kings, who defeated the Chalukya army and threw off the Chalukya suzerainty. He also defeated the Chola intruders and extended his kingdom to the whole of Gangavadi region comprising of present Kolar, Tumkur, Bangalore and Mysore districts. In the West, he subdued the Chengalvas and Kongalvas. His kingdom extended upto Nangli on the East; to Selum and Coimbatore in the South; on the

West to South Kanara, and on the North as far as river Krishna. The King was a Jain under the name Bittideva. After conversion to Vaishnavism by the great teacher Ramanujacharya, the King changed his name as Vishnuvardhana.[7] Vishnuvardhana gave great encouragement to religion, culture and architecture. The great temples of Keshava and Chennigaraya at Belur, the Keshava and Siddeswara temples at Marale, the Kirthinarayana temple at Talkad are a testimony to the architectural glory of his reign. Nagachandra, Rajadithya, Vishnudanadhipa and poetess Kanthi were the literary luminaries of this period.

Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by his son Narasimha who constructed a number of temples in the newly developed Hoysala style. The most notable among them were the Hoysaleswara temple at Dwarasamudra (Halebidu), the Brahmeswara temple at Kikkeri. During the time of his son Ballala II (1173-1220), Hoysala dynasty came into prominence. Most of his life was devoted to the battle field. His army marched first on Kalachuries and then against Chalukyas and finally over the Seunas. Thereafter he annexed the Velvola and Puligere territories. In the North, Lakkundi became a part of his territorial possession. In the South he also interfered in the affairs of the Cholas who were on the decline. Ballala by his exploits both in the North and the South assumed the title of Giridurga Malla. His monumental constructions include many temples like Amriteswara temple at Amrithapura, and Veerabhadra temple at Dwarasamudra and Jaina bastis at Shravanabelagola and Nandalike. Ballala's Queen, Umadevi evinced active interest not only in the affairs of the State but even exhibited her valour in leading Hoysala army in its attacks against the intruders.

Ballala II was succeeded by his son Narasimha II in 1220 and ruled for fifteen years. During his time, Kulottunga III, who had been driven away by Maravarma Sundara Pandya, was reinstated on the Chola throne. For this graceful act, Narasimha obtained a good chunk of territory around Kannanur to keep a reserve force of his army under his son Someswara, to protect Chola King. Again when the Pandyas attacked Chola King, Raja-Raja and imprisoned him, once again Narasimha had to go to his rescue and defeated the Pandya King Maravarma Sundara Pandya. For this act Narasimha was hailed as the saviour of Chola throne, and Hoysala prestige and influence in the Chola country increased. Kannanur region became a part of their kingdom. Then on the Hoysala interest in the Tamilnadu grew more and more and in fact Someswara made Kannanur his permanent headquarters. This resulted in Someswara's visits to Hoysala capital Dwarasamudra occasional and formal.

7. Krishna Rao M. V., op. cit., pp.57-58.

With the succession of Rajendra III to the Chola throne the attitude of the Cholas towards the Hoysalas changed. As a result, Hoysalas had to change their policy towards Cholas. Someswara, who all along sided the Cholas became an ally of Pandyas. This shift in the balance made Chola King to compose his differences with Someswara. By now, the Hoysalas firmly established themselves in Tamil area and Kannanur as their eastern capital. During his last days, Someswara unable to attend to the affairs of his large and unwieldy kingdom decided to divide his kingdom into two portions. The northern territory of his kingdom was placed under his elder son Narasimha III, with Dwarasamudra as capital and the southern region was placed under his younger son Ramanatha with Kannanur as his capital. But the two brothers did not rule in peace as they were always inimical to one another. This infighting among the brothers weakened their own power. Taking advantage of this situation, the Pandyas in the South invaded the Chola and Hoysala territories. Ramanatha lost his capital Kannanur in Tamil territory and shifted his headquarters to Kundani, a place to the North of Kannanur and from where he conducted his State affairs till his death in 1295 A.D. [8]

However, Ballala III, son of Narasimha I succeeded his father in 1291 A.D., was able to unite the Hoysala kingdom. While Ballala was engaged himself to consolidate his dominions, the Seunas in the North were encountering the Muslim assaults. The Seuna Kings instead of combining themselves with Hindu Kings persisted in unfriendly activities with them which was disastrous to them and their neighbours. Allauddin Khilji invaded the Seunas kingdom in 1295 A.D. and plundered Devagiri and returned to Delhi after amassing huge wealth. In the process, Seunas not only lost their independence but were forced to pay annual tributes to the Delhi Sulthanate. The Muslims after making themselves masters of northern India were casting eyes on the South.

Muslim Invasions :

The rich booty that Allauddin had acquired from Devagiri further roused his thirst for wealth, and planned another invasion to far South. This time Dwarasamudra and Coramandal coast were the targets of his attack. In February, 1311 Alla-ud-din's army under his General Mallikaffer reached the outskirts of Dwarasamudra. Ballala fought with all his might against the attack of the Muslims, but he had to submit finally to the superior prowess of the enemy. The Hoysala capital was sacked and its treasures were taken away by the invader. And added to this, Mallikaffer obtained the help of Ballala to march against the Coramandala coast, the kingdom of Pandyas. Here also the invaders

8. Desai P. B., op. cit., p.273

destroyed the temples, plundered the cities, seized enormous wealth. But Ballala considered these invasions by the Muslims as a passing phase and again reverted back to interfere in the affairs of the Pandya kingdom which resulted in some territorial gains around the area of the present Thiruvannamali which became Ballala's southern headquarters. Seuna kingdom, by 1318 A.D., was completely subjected to the Muslim rule, with a Muslim Governor stationed at Devagiri.

There was a second invasion in 1327 A.D., and once again Dwarasamudra was attacked by Muhamad-Bin-Thugaluk. Ballal fled to Thiruvannamali and Hoysala capital was ruthlessly sacked and completely ravaged and demolished. In the course of next three years of this attack, all the Hindu dynasties succumbed to the Muslim sword and only Hoysala Ballala III and Kampalideva of Kampali region were the two States which enjoyed independent status. Further, the Muslim army marched against Madurai, the capital of Pandya kingdom and placed a Governor in charge of the territory. Thus by 1330 A.D., Devagiri, Warangal and Madurai, all the three capitals acknowledged the suzarainty of the Delhi Sulthanate. In 1327 A.D., Bahauddin Garshap, a nephew of the Delhi Sulthan, was the Governor of Sagar in the region of present Gulbarga. He reblled against his uncle and went to take refuge under the generous hearted Kampalideva. The enraged Sulthan came to South to punish him and Kampalideva who gave him shelter. In the conflict, both Kampalideva and his son laid down their lives in the battle field, but in the process of their great act they had despatched safely Bahauddin to the capital of Ballala III. The disappointed Sulthan marched to Hoysala capital. Ballala, who was in a precarious position did not take risks. The Sulthan's army pursued and captured the rebel, and spared the Hoysala capital. With Kampali coming under the Sulthan's rule, the only kingdom which retained its existence was that of the Hoysalas. Although the Hoysala kingdom was subdued more than once by the Muslim invaders, its ruler Ballala was allowed to govern his territory. Muslims caused great destruction, and cruelty during their invasion of the South and by these atrocities and violence, the Muslim rulers soon alienated themselves from the Hindus of the South, whose only thought was the liberation from Muslims and their constant threat.

Vijayanagara :

At this critical juncture there came forth a new dynasty which held forth hopes for Hindu survival, when the two brothers Harihara and Bukka appeared on the scene and laid the foundations of Vijayanagara kingdom. 'When the ruthless hordes of the Muslim rulers of the North wrought havoc in the South, it was taken as a challenge by the traditionally heroic Karnataka warriors. Karnataka became the venue ; men of stature appeared and founded magnificient Vijayanagara,

the empire which saved India and South India in particular, from the holocaust of iconoclastic fury and revived all that was precious and sublime, in the Hindu way of culture and life. [9]

The credit of the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire goes to the two brothers, Hukka and Bukka among the five sons of Sangama, a chieftain claiming descent from Yadava lineage. These two brothers had been taken away to Delhi as captives and employed in the Sulthan's service. When there was a rebellion in Kampali the Sulthan sent these brothers to South to put down the rebellion. When they were in the South on this mission, Sage Vidyaranya inspired them to come under his influence for an exhalted sense of patriotism in defence of the unity of their heritage and solidarity, and preservation of their culture. Hoysala King Ballala who was the only Hidu King to rule over his territory in the entire South, was waiting to help a liberation movement, helped the five sons of Sangama to save the country and the people from the foreign domination. Ballala, even at the age of eighty, did not rest and struggled against the Sulthan of Madurai. Ballala lost his life in 1342 A.D., on the battle field, but before his death there had taken place the birth of a new kingdom in the Karnataka region, pledged to the task of protecting Hindu religion, culture and society. Ballala's successor Virupaksha Ballala IV was an insignificant ruler and he died in 1346 A.D., i.e., within three years of his coronation. Thus came to an end the rule of the Hoysalas which terminated the mastership of the Hoysalas influence and power on the vast area between the Thungabhadra and the Cauvery for over three centuries.

By the end of Hoysala dynasty, the Sangama brothers had established the new kingdom of Vijayanagara in the Hoysala territory. Ballala III, who cherished the idea of freeing the country from the clutches of the aliens, had blessed Hukka or Harihara, to grow from strength to strength and to expand in all directions, was coming true. Thus emerged the new Vijayanagara empire with Hampe as its capital on the banks of the river Thungabhadra.

The first ruler of the Vijayanagara kingdom was Harihara of Sangama dynasty. He ruled the kingdom with the able assistance of his other four brothers Bukka, Kampana, Marappa and Muddappa. Usually, Hukka and Bukka were the two brothers who associated with the founding of the Vijayanagara kingdom because of the conspicuous part played by them. Hukka or Harihara was crowned as King and the coronation of Harihara took place in April 1336 A.D. Bukka was installed as Yuvaraja and he administered the central region near Dwarasamudra. Kampana managed the Udayagiri Rajya (Eastern coast region of Andhra). Marappa controlled the coastal region in the West with Chandragutti as his headquarters. Muddappa governed from

9. P. B. Desai-op. cit., p.277.

Mulabagal. Within a short period of ten years most of the territories of the South of the Thungabhadra came under Harihara and he became the sovereign of the South except for the fact that his period saw the establishment of the Bahamani kingdom at Gulbarga which had a far reaching consequence upon the new kingdom of Vijayanagara. Harihara not only laid the foundation of a new State but set up good governments in dominions. He was a great warrior and a capable military leader. He divided the kingdom into provinces and appointed members of royal family as Viceroys to the provinces.

Bukka succeeded his brother in 1356 A.D. and engaged in consolidating his empire. Bukka's reign is known for the exploits of Kampana who marched against Arcot and then upon Madhurai and subdued them thereby bringing the entire South peninsula under Vijayanagara empire. After this conquest, Kampana was the Viceroy in Tamil area. These conquests of Kampana have been immortalised by his wife Gangadevi in her Sanskrit poetic work *Madura Vijayam* or *Vira Kemparaya Charitham*. During this period of his reign began the constant and continuous hostilities between Vijayanagara and Bahamani Sulthans for the possession of the *Doab* region between the rivers Krishna and Thungabhadra.

At the end of Sangama dynasty, Saluvas came into prominence. Saluva Narasimha was an important leader of this family which was serving the Vijayanagara rulers. During the reign of Sangama ruler, Mallikarjuna Narasimha was a Governor of Chandragiri. When the Vijayanagara kingdom was exposed to danger by the weak rule, Narasimha, a loyal and faithful officer, had to shoulder the responsibility of saving Vijayanagara from distress. Narasimha valiantly pushed back the Orissa King Gajapathi and captured Udayagiri in 1463 A.D. He also overpowered Kanchi and re-established the Vijayanagara sway in the South. He drove back the Bahamani Sulthans from Telugu region and captured the Kondaveedu fort, and Masalipatnam port. Narasimha died in 1491 A.D. As his son was a minor, Narasimha's general, Tuluva Narasa Nayaka was put as regent and protector of the minor ruler. Narasa Nayaka took advantage of the circumstances and usurped all authority and ruled as Vijayanagara's sovereign. Narasa Nayaka put down the Ummatur chieftain by subjugating the Island fort of Srirangapatna. He also wrested back Raichur and Mudgal from the nobles of the former Bahamani Sulthanate. Gajapathi Prataparudra of Orissa who had made inroads into Vijayanagara territory was driven back and all the old boundaries of the kingdom were restored, but Saluva rule soon came to an end. Narasa, son of Veera Narasimha, ruled over Vijayanagara kingdom from 1505 to 1509 A.D. After the death of Veera Narasimha, his able and eminent brother Krishnadevaraya, a benevolent and far sighted ruler came to the throne of Vijayanagara

in 1509 A.D. When Krishnadevaraya assumed power, he found Vijayanagara kingdom much weakened and mal-administered. Internal dissensions and external stresses and strains exposed the State to distress. He had to initiate several measures to integrate and consolidate his empire. By tax relief measures he restored confidence and instilled hope among his subjects. He improved military administration to meet the gigantic task ahead by fixing responsibility on the provincial Governors to supply a fixed number of soldiers to the army.

He quelled the rebellious Gangaraja and annexed Srirangapatna and Shivasamudra. The responsibility of local administration was entrusted to Kempe Gowda, after appointing a Viceroy to supervise over the area. After consolidating his position in the kingdom, he launched upon a series of expeditions against the enemies of Vijayanagara empire, who had encroached upon its territory. His war against Kalinga extended over six years and his troops traversed their way upto Katakpuri by capturing Udayagiri, Kondaveedu and Rajmahendry. Prataparudra of Orissa not only surrendered himself but gave his daughter Jaganmohini in marriage to Krishnadevaraya, to save his over run territory. In a series of battles, he drove out the Golkonda troops. In 1520 A.D., he won another victory in the battle of Raichur against Ismail Adilshah of Bijapur. Then, Raya led his army in 1523 A.D., to Gulbarga and captured it. Thus Krishnadevaraya had clearly established his firm hold over the Bahamani powers. He had a great desire to take back Goa from Portugese but restrained himself as he did not want to antagonise Portugese with whom he had trade relations for supplying war horses to Vijayanagara army.

It is true Krishnadevaraya waged many wars but his ultimate objective was security, peace and happiness of the people. His reign was known for many constructive and welfare activities. He erected the shrine of Krishnaswami to install the image of Krishna brought as a trophy after his conquest of Udayagiri. He improved, with the help of Portugese engineers from Goa, the irrigation system around Vijayanagara and also the city water supply. He built two beautiful suburbs to the capital called Nagalapura in honour of his mother Nagaladevi and another in memory of his queen Thirumalamba.

He was not only a great patron of literature but himself a scholar and poet. Telugu poetic work *Amukthamalyada* which is ascribed to him contains fine exposition of the principles of political administration, practised by the monarch. His court was adorned with many illustrious poets and literary men. Pre-eminent among them were Telugu poet Allasani Peddanna, and Kannada poet Thimmannakavi. His love for literature, his solicitude for the welfare of his people and above all the most fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and

brahmins mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs. [10]

In the words of Neelakanta Shastry, 'Pre-eminent warrior Krishnadevaraya was equally great as a statesman, administrator, and patron of the arts. The grandeur of his court excited the warm admiration of many foreign visitors and their description of the great wealth of Vijayanagara, its festivals, its military strength and its heroic King make eloquent reading. All South India was under Krishnadevaraya's sway'. [11]

He respected all sects of Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism. It was most unfortunate that he died prematurely at the age of about forty years. At the time of his demise the empire of Vijayanagara was mightier than ever. The twenty years of Krishnadevaraya's rule, from 1509 to 1529 A.D., was a remarkable epoch in the history of India in general and Karnataka in particular. After Krishnadevaraya, internal dissensions on account of Palace intrigues for succession and external danger from enemies began to set in. Adilshah of Bijapur in the North; Gajapathi of Orissa in the East; and the Portuguese activities in the West became menacing. The manoeuvres and manipulations in the royal family brought to the forefront, Ramaraya, son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya, who placed on the throne in 1542 A.D., Sadasiva, a nephew of Krishnadevaraya and carried on the administration as his regent and assuming all authority by himself. Ramaraya, ambitious as he was, gradually rose to power and ascendency and ruled for fifteen years from 1551 to 1565 A.D., establishing peace and security in the kingdom. Immediately after coming to power, Ramaraya embarked on a policy of aggrandizement. For the first time Vijayanagara ruler found himself entangled in the inter-state affairs of the Sulthans of Ahamednagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golkonda. Skilful Ramaraya succeeded in setting them one against the other which weakened the power, position and strength of Bahamani Sulthans and increased the power of the Vijayanagara rulers. Ramaraya recovered the entire territory lost after Krishnadevaraya and expanded the empire beyond river Krishna. Strategically important forts like Kalyana, Kovilakonda, Ghanapura, Pangal and Yadgiri in the northern Deccan came under Vijayanagara control. This achievement was a great tribute to Ramaraya's military genius and great diplomacy. However, it was a dangerous game that Ramaraya played. The Bahamani Sulthans began to realise soon their folly in pursuing their internecine hostilities and united themselves by social and marriage alliances after knowing that individually they could not withstand the Vijayanagara forces. Thus finally they entered into a military confederacy to march

10. Neelakanta Sastry K.A.-A History of South India, p.284.
11. Neelakanta Sastry K.A., op. cit., p.284

against Vijayanagara at appropriate time. To begin with, Ramaraya was indifferent to the activities of the belligerent Sulthans but soon realised the impending danger and mustered all available military might for a final trial of strength. Things came to ahead when Bahamani Sulthans gathered a large army and moved southwards. Ramaraya prepared himself with available troops. A decisive engagement took place between the two armies on 23rd January, 1565 A.D., at Rakkasathangadi near Talikota for about four hours. Ramaraya, though aged about eighty years, decided to conduct the war operations by himself. The battle was furious and devastating. Ramaraya was able to organise the disposition of his army in time and initial success was in favour of the Vijayanagara forces but at this crucial hour two Muslim Commanders of the Vijayanagara army with their battalions, each in charge of seventy to eighty thousand men, trecherously deserted their camp and joined the enemy. This desertion by the army chiefs created confusion in the rank and file and had a disastrous effect on the Vijayanagara army. Ramaraya was captured in the battle field and was beheaded. The severed head was raised up and was exhibited to the Hindu army. There was dismay among Vijayanagara troops and were routed by the Muslim army. This was one of the fiercest and decisive battles in the annals of Indian history.[12]

Thirumala, brother of Ramaraya, who survived the catastrophe hurried in haste, to save as much as he could of the capital, collected all the available wealth of the emperor—gold, jewels and jewelled throne, accompanied by the King Sadasiva and women members of the royal family proceeded to Chandragutti. In the meanwhile, the enemy reached the undefended capital and stayed there for about five months plundering, causing destruction to the property and committing vandalism relentlessly. Soon Vijayanagara became a mass of ruins and it has remained so till now. "With fire and sword, with crow-bars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has so much a havoc been wrought suddenly, on so splendid a city, teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plentitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins amid scenes of savage, massacre and horrors beggering description."[13] The battle of Talikote was a supreme tragedy and an irretrivable catastrophe. The Imperial Vijayanagara which embraced all philosophy, all scholarship, all art, and all refinement and exaltation, an inexhaustible reservoir of wealth and intellect one day, was a heap of ruins the next day on the banks of river Thunga.[14] Vijayanagara never recovered after the battle of Talikote. After this blow, diminished in strength and magnitude, it

12. P. B. Desai-op. cit., p.380.
13. R. Sewell-The Forgotten Empire, p.200.
14. M. V. Krishna Rao-op cit., p.85.

continued its precarious existence for a few decades. The attempts made by Thirumala to revive and rebuild the city met with no success. After six years of anarchy and confusion, despondency and frustration, Thirumala took up his abode in Penugonda and began to rule. In the meanwhile, the feudatories and provincial chiefs of Vijayanagara came to prominence in different parts of the empire acknowledging formally the suzerainty of the emperor. But, the immediate inheritors of the Vijayanagara throne were the rulers of the Aravidu family in the Andhra region. After the Talikote tragedy, the northern provinces of the empire were seized by the Sulthans and the southern territory was retained by Thirumala. By 1570, the nominal emperor, Sadasiva was removed and Thirumala took over the reigns of administration. He divided the territory into three parts on the basis of language and appointed his three sons as Viceroys in each region. Sriranga, the eldest son was in charge of Andhra region, with Chandragiri as his headquarters. His second son, Ramaraya governed the Kannada region from Srirangapatna, and the third son, Venkatapathi administered the Tamil region from Chandragiri.

The truncated State of Vijayanagara lingered on for about a century and gradually disintegrated. A large slice of its northern territory finally fell into the hands of the Sulthans of Bijapur and Golkonda. In other parts, the feudatory chiefs declared their independence. The last ruler, Sriranga ran away to Mysore in 1646 A.D., after the defeat at the hands of the forces of Bijapur and Golkonda. There after he lived in oblivision for about three decades and died in 1681 A.D. Thus came the end of Vijayanagara and the rule of Aravidu Kings who tried hard to maintain its traditions against overwhelming odds of the times.

During the Vijayanagara period some vassal chiefs were recognised in the Mysore region. The main chieftains in the northern part of Mysore, who came directly under the control of Vijayanagara, were Nayaks of Bidanur, Basavapatna, and Chitradurga; Gowdas of Yelahanka in the central region; and in the South Wadiyars of Mysore. At the time of the disintegration of the empire a few of the local chiefs gathered strength and came into prominence in the region of Karnataka. The precious heritage of Vijayanagara in the form of Princely tradition and culture was inherited by chieftains of Keladi, the Stately Wadiyars of Mysore.

In the Vijayanagara days, Keladi Nayaks were powerful feudatories. Sadasiva Nayak rendered military service to Ramaraya. Sivappa Nayak was the most noteworthy ruler who pushed his boundary southwards into Mysore region. He introduced a new land revenue system called Shist and reformed the administration. Keladi lost its importance after Sivappa Nayak. The northern parts of the Keladi territory were conquered by Bijapur and later it was taken over by the Marattas. The

shrunken territory of Keladi lingered on till 1763 when Hyder Ali of Mysore invaded it.

The Gowdas of Yelahanka :

The Gowdas occupied high positions and authority in the affairs of Karnataka. They were Generals, Chieftains and vassal Kings under Hoysalas, Kadambas, Gangas and other ruling dynasties of Karnataka region in the South. Many of the Kings under Vijayanagara empire were Gowdas. Prominent among them were Avathi Nada Prabhu, Ranabyre Gowda; Kempe Gowda, the founder of Bangalore the beautiful city at present in the entire South; Mallabyre Gowda founder of Devanahalli and Doddaballapur; Thammanna Gowda of Sugutur, a General in the Vijayanagara Imperial Army. Yelahanka Prabhus (rulers) who founded Yelahanka Nadu by 1418 A.D., ruled over the entire central region of erstwhile Mysore State, and also known for valiant exploits and beneficient acts of charity, came under the good grace of Vijayanagara emperors. Thamme Gowda at the instance of Vijayanagara emperor attacked and subdued an invading Moghal army and earned a covetous title, *Chikkarayalu.*[15] His territory extended from Hoskote to Punganur. He built the temple of Avimuktheswara at Hoskote in dravidian style.

Jaya Gowda, youngest son of Ranabyre Gowda, founded the kingdom of Yelahanka, gained the confidence of Vijayanagara emperor Proudh Deva, and was recognised as Yelahanka Chief. One of the Yelahanka rulers, Kempe Gowda built the town of Bangalore in 1537 A.D. and transferred his capital from Yelahanka to Bangalore. The town he built had nine gates, nine tanks, several temples and four towers in the four quarters of the town indicating the future extension of the town as monuments of Bangalore boundaries. The energy and enterprise with which Kempe Gowda improved his kingdom and the humanity; and justice with which he exercised his sway over the subjects, made Vijayanagara rulers to bestow some more adjoining areas to his rule. Kempe Gowda's rule was one of peace and plenty. The prosperity in the country enabled him to set up his own mint and struck his own coins known as Byredeva coins. He built temples at Bangalore and Shivaganga.

Kempe Gowda II followed in the good tradition of his father and the country was prospering in all directions. Jealous of the prosperity in Kempe Gowda territory, the Chief of Sumathi Bagur planned to weaken the Gowda's strength. In the pursuit of this end, he sought the help of the Nawab of Bijapur. General Ranadulla Khan of Bijapur invaded Bangalore with a mighty army. Seeing the adverse situation, Kempe Gowda negotiated with Ranadulla Khan and extricated himself

15. Rice B. Lewis-op. cit., p.166.

from situation by paying a large sum of money, and changed his capital from Bangalore to Magadi in 1638 expecting further threat on prosperous Bangalore. By 1705 Kempe Gowda III, came to power and continued the good work of his predecessors in administration of the country. By this time Vijayanagara empire had disintegrated and many vassal Kings declared their independence and ravaging the neighbouring territories. Ursus of Mysore, who declared their independence were on the move to extend their territory. Nawab of Sira who represented the Moghals in the South, and the adjoining Marattas were casting their evil eyes on Kempe Gowda's kingdom. Unlike his predecessors, Kempe Gowda was not tolerent to other religions and began to show a marked preference to the Shaivites which was due to his favourite cancubine Bargawathi who was a Lingayet. This attitude of Kempe Gowda resulted in creating ill-will between himself and his nobles. Mysore ruler who was waiting for a favourable chance took advantage of the situation and sent his army secretly and siezed Magadi; and Kempe Gowda was taken prisoner to Srirangapatna. The Magadi country was annexed to Mysore. Thus ended the rule of Magadi Chiefs who held sway for about 300 years.[16]

By 1640 Bijapur Sulthan in series of attacks subdued some of the territories adjoining to Bangalore and formed a province under the designation of Karnataka-Bijapur-Balaghat, out of the districts of Bangalore, Hosakote, Kolar, Doddaballapur and Sira. Shahji, father of the famous Shivaji, who was a second in commond to Ranadulla Khan, was made Governor of this new province with Bangalore as head-quarters. After Shahji's death his son Venkoji continued to govern Bangalore from Tanjore where he was a Governor. Venkoji who found it difficult to hold Bangalore amidst contending armies around and also expensive and perilous to govern it from a distance, expressed his desire to sell Bangalore to the highest bidder. Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, who was extending his territory, showed his inclination to buy and began to bargain it for three lakhs of rupees.

Scenting the deal between Chikkadevaraja and Venkoji and realising the importance and advantage of having Bangalore, the Maratta Commonder-in-Chief of Aurengzeb sent a detachment of the army and sieged Bangalore almost without any opposition. In 1687 the capture of Bijapur by Aurengzeb and also the conquest of Karnatic districts, a southern province of the Moghals was created with Sira as capital. Khasim Khan, who became Governor of Sira, sold Bangalore to Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar of Mysore in 1687 for three lakhs of rupees. From then on till 1791 it was under the Chiefs of Mysore when Lord Cornwallis captured it from Tippu. On the fall of Tippu in 1799, Bangalore was included in the territory of Mysore State.

16. Narasimhiah S. K.-Magadi Kempe Gowda, p.25.

Wadiyars of Mysore :

About the origin of the former reigning family of Mysore, tradition has it that about the year 1399 A.D., two young brothers Yaduraya and Krishnaraya, of Atreya Gotra, scions of Yadava dynasty went in quest of adventure from Dwaraka in the West of the Indian Peninsula of Kathiawar and after a sojourn at Vijayanagara proceeded southwards. On the way they paid a visit to the shrine of Vishnu at Melkote and passed on to Mysore where a fortunate trial of prowess awaited them. A descendent of King Bhoja of Gouthama Gotra by name Suryadevaraya had emigrated to this place sometime previously from Mathura, and had founded a dynasty. Chamaraja, a lineal descendent of his had just then died leaving an only daughter by name Devajammanni. A petty Chief-captain of the army (Senapathi) by name Maranayaka was trying to coerce her marry him and was planning usurpation of the throne. This gave Yaduraya an opportunity for displaying his chivalry and courage. He fought and slew Maranayaka and marrying the Princess whom he had rescued, founded the royal family of Mysore.

The rule of next seven Rajas who succeeded Yaduraya was one of long and continuous struggle with petty local Chieftains called Pallegars. The nineth ruler Raja Wadiyar reduced the Pallegars to submission and supplanted the Viceroy of Vijayanagara by capturing Srirangapatna in 1610 A.D. The real history of Mysore may be said to have commenced with the reign of Raja Wadiyar (1578-1612). Under Raja Wadiyar the territorial limits of Mysore were enlarged and Mysore rose to dignity of an important State with a number of Chieftains under its sway. The rule of Raja Wadiyar was remarkable for rigour and severity which he exercised towards the subordinate Wadiyars and his indulgence to the ryots. It is Raja Wadiyar who initiated the Princely ceremonies of Dasara Festival called Navaratri, to continue the tradition of Vijayanagara. [17]

The next important ruler was Ranadhira Kanteerava Narasaraja Wadiyar (1638-59), a ruler of remarkable abilities who routed the army of Bijapur under Ranadulla Khan and extended his territory on all sides. He forced Immadi Kempe Gowda of Bangalore to pay him tributes. He dealt severely the disloyal subordinates and consolidated his territory. He brought into circulation Kantiraya coins after establishing a mint in 1646 A.D. He granted political asylum to Vijayanagara King Sriranga when the latter sought refuge in Mysore. Doddadevaraja continued his predecessor's policy and work. He repulsed the Nayak of Madurai, captured Erode and Dharmapuri. When Keladi Sivappa Nayak threatened the borders of Mysore territory, Doddadevaraja annexed Hassan, Sakaleshpur, Sakkarepatna and other

17. Krishna Rao M.V., op.cit., p.93.

areas to Mysore. He declared his independence in 1668. It was however during the Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar's reign that the kingdom attained its eminence. He expanded the territory of Mysore and consolidated his kingdom. He acquired Bangalore for three lakhs of rupees from Moghul Viceroy Kasim Khan who had wrested it from Marattas. He took advantage of the triangular contest for southern expansion among Moghuls, Marattas and Sulthan of Bijapur and extended his boundary from mountain range of Chikkamagalur in the North to Annamali and Palini hills in the South and from Selam in the East to Belur and Kodagu in the West. Chikkadevaraja was a contemporary of Aurangazeb who had given him the title of 'Raja Jagadev'. [18] He was an able administrator and an efficient leader. He established eighteen departments in the Government for the purpose of administration known as '*Atthara Cucheri*'. Till very recently, in Bangalore, the capital city of Mysore State, the general Secretariat bore this name. He was the first ruler to establish a postal system in his dominions. Chikkadevaraja was came to be known as 'Navakoti Narayana' on account of the wealth he accumulated by carefully husbanding and harnessing the resources of the country. He was a patron of learning and his court was adorned by many literary personages like Thirumalaraya, Chikkupadhyaya, Sanchi Honnamma and others.

After Chikkadevaraja, his successors were not able Kings consequently the power passed into the hands of the army Commanders known as Dalavoys who took full advantage of the weak Kings to become powerful. This new development has brought in its own problems. Feuds among the subordinate Chiefs and Officials became a common feature. The treasury was dwindling and anarchy began to set in creating internal insecurity. The political situation outside Mysore was also in a State of turmoil. In the North, Bahamani kingdom disappeared giving way to Moghul rule. Nizam of Hyderabad who was deemed to be the Viceroy of the Moghuls in the South, made himself virtually an independent ruler. The Moghul territory in the South-Carnatic as it was called, was divided into two provinces, each under a Nawab having headquarters at Sira and Arcot respectively. Marattas contending for supremacy in the South indulged in plundering expeditions to Mysore and other parts of the South. After two Carnatic wars in the Arcot region, the English emerged victorious against their powerful French rivals. All these powers were casting their evil and greedy eyes on the resourceful Mysore territory. Internally the confusion and anarchy in Mysore under Dalavoys presented a fine opportunity for outsiders to sieze the situation. The Nawabs of Sira, Savanur, Kadapa, Karnool and Arcot all in combination came down with an army and laid a sieze to Srirangapatna. Unable to face the

18. Krishna Rao M.V., op.cit., p.95.

formidable army, a crore of rupees had to be paid from Mysore treasury to induce the enemy to return. Soon after this, Maratta incursions into the Mysore territories became frequent and Mysore was passing through perilous time. Mysore army attempted in vain to hold the Marattas in check. Marattas who invaded Mysore demanded heavy payments in the form of Chouth. By all these payments there was a drain on the treasury. The King became sick of Dalvoys, and with a view to get rid of them, the ruler sought the help of Hyder Ali who was then rising in influence as Fouzdar (Military Governor) of Dindigal.

The House of Hyder :

Hyder Ali was a son of Fathe Mahamed who was a soldier in the military service of Naik of Kolar. When the Mysore army invested Devanahalli in 1749, Hyder Ali was first noticed. In this encounter Hyder Ali exhibited his gallantry and daringness while assisting his brother who was commanding a small unit of the army. Dalvoy Nanjarajaiah appointed Hyder Ali to be in charge of a small unit of the troops as reward for his services in Devanahalli seize. There after Hyder Ali participated in many military operations in Carnatic region and rose from rank to rank by sheer ability, and finally he was appointed as military Governor of Dindigal, where he collected and trained a small army of Bedars, and with the aid of skilled artificers organized a regular artillery, arsenal and laboratory. When the Mysore territory was vexed with the raids of Maratta troops and most of the northern territory was threatened in 1757, Hyder Ali was sent for to overcome the crisis. Hyder Ali came from Dindigal with his army and routed the Maratta army and recovered the territory back, and got over the difficulties. In honour of this victory a magnificient durbar was arranged to confer the title of 'Fathe Hyder Bahadur'. Hyder Ali induced Dalvoy Nanjarajaiah to retire and became the Commander of the army. Then on, the state passed under the control of Hyder Ali. When Hyder Ali took up the reins of administration, Mysore was passing through a critical time. Hyder Ali, a man of consummate genius, a born soldier, a wily schemer and a diplomat of a very high order, faced boldly the challenges posed to Mysore. The Marattas being frustrated after the battle of Panipat in 1761 in the north, turned out to be a menace to every kingdom in the South. In the North of Mysore territory, Nawabs formed their own ring in the principalities of Savanur, Gutti, Kadapa and Kurnool. The Nizam was also a potential threat as he was changing sides. And above all, the British were a growing power with great ambitions. Hyder Ali, an unlettered soldier of fortune had the shrewdness and insight to see much more clearly than any other of his contemporaries, that the real danger to the country would come from the British. He knew also that it would be difficult to break their power. Hyder Ali in a meeting with his political advisers, is believed

to have said with a remarkable political insight 'that it would not be difficult for him to ruin the resources of British on land, but he could not dry up the Seas'. [19] Hyder Ali, with a resolute mind and qualities of a general embarked on itinerary of conquest. He captured Hosakote, Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur and Sira and marched upon Harapanahalli, Penugonda, Rayadurga and Bidanur. A treasure worth twelve crores of rupees came to his possession in Bidanur. Nawab of Savanur paid a tribute of two lakhs of rupees to Hyder. The conquest of Mangalore and Honnavar gave him the control of West coast. Dharwar was annexed next. After these gains he marched into Kerala subdued Palghat and Cochin. By 1767, the British alarmed by the growing power of Hyder Ali and his pro-French policy, made alliance with Marattas and Nizam, embarked on the first Mysore War. Hyder Ali skilfully separated Marattas from British by paying money, and went ahead with war. He launched a well-planned campaign and in quick succession over-run Erode, Coimbatore, Madurai and Tanjore by outwitting the British. When he came near the outskirts and was about to enter Madras, the Governor of Madras sued for peace. The First Mysore War ended on each party restoring the conquered territory and with an understanding to help each other in times of war. An opportunity to test the friendship of British came to Hyder Ali. When Marattas threatened Mysore, Hyder Ali realised that Britishers were unwilling to help. Hyder Ali was enraged by the British perfidy. Very soon after this, the Second Mysore War commenced and Mysore army held upper hand and in the midst of the war Hyder Ali passed away by cancer in his back, in December 1782 near Chittoor.

Hyder Ali entered Mysore army as a soldier and rose to the position of Supreme master of the kingdom by his talent, ability and valour. He ruled over greater Mysore for over two decades. He put down the rebellious Chiefs and waged war with powerful and mighty neighbours like Nizam, Marattas and the British. He contributed greatly to the improvement of kingdom and its people by establishing order, administration and internal security. When Hyder Ali took over the reins of administration in 1761 the revenues of the State was about forty three lakhs of varahas, *i.e.*, 210 lakhs of rupees. By 1781 it rose to three crores and fifty lakhs of rupees. He extended the frontiers of Mysore and consolidated the territory. The extent of Mysore territory under Hyder Ali approximated to about eighty thousand square miles. He elevated the State of Mysore to be the foremost power in the entire South. Inspite of his unfettered political power and pre-eminent position in the State, Hyder Ali never made any attempt to assume the insignia of royalty, nor did he at any time deny the claim of the royal family to the sovereignty of Mysore. A self-

19. M. Shama Rao–Modern Mysore, Ch. XVI, p.119.

made man, a great General, a fearless conqueror, and an able administrator and Statesman, Hyder Ali occupies a unique position in the annals of Karnataka and deserves an honoured place as one of the great, if not greatest personalities in the history of India. [20]

Tippu :

On the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu assumed the reins of administration and continued the second Mysore War with the British. After overcoming the initial difficulties, Tippu captured Mangalore. The British came to terms with Tippu and peace was concluded on the basis of treaty of Mangalore which stipulated the mutual restitution of the conquests. In the meanwhile, taking advantage of Tippu's pre-occupation with the British, the Nizam and the Marattas invaded the Mysore territory from the North. Along with this external danger Tippu had to face some internal dissension also. Tippu after assuming the reins of administration, kept the royal family virtually in captivity. Queen Lakshammanni along with some high officers of the Palace, was in league wth the British at Madras for help to put down the power of Tippu. Realizing the unfavourable situation alround, Tippu came to terms with the Nizam and Marattas by ceading places like Adony, Kittoor and Badami, in addition paid forty five lakhs of rupees as indemnity. Now Tippu became very angry with the British who were in league with the royal family to conspire against him and determined to put down the menace of the British and began correspondence with France and Turkey seeking their help against British. Alarmed by this move British were waiting to attack Tippu. In 1789, when Tippu attacked Travencore, Lord Cornwallis on the pretext of defending the Raja of Travencore who was an ally of the British, declared war which led to third Mysore War. The Marattas and the Nizam in alliance with English, moved their army from the North, while the English army advanced from the South. Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General, himself came to supervise the operations of the campaign and captured Bangalore and moved towards Srirangapatna. Tippu who was placed in a triangular tight contest, hemmed in on all sides, had to accept humiliating terms. He was made to give up half of his kingdom, and pay rupees three crores as war indemnity. In fulfilment of the payment, he had to send his two sons as hostages. The humiliation suffered at the hands of the British in 1792 was too severe for Tippu to bear. Enraged under indignities of his defeat and to wreak his vengence on the British, he started correspondence with Napoleon of France and sent emissaries to West Asian countries seeking military aid against the British. [21] This news reached the British who in turn decided to take immediate action.

20. Krishna Rao M.V.,op.cit., p.103.
21. Krishna Rao M.V., op cit., p.103.

British army was mobilised together with the Marattas and the Nizam, to launch a simultaneous attack on Tippu of Mysore. Tippu could not face the combined army of the enemy advancing from all directions and decided to recede to Srirangapatna to defend the capital with a fond hope of the French help. The promissed French help did not arrive and traitors at home were busy aiding the advancing British. All the three armies of the enemy converged on the capital Srirangapatna and laid seize. Tippu put up a stiff opposition with all his might in defence of his capital but succumbed gallantly fighting to the last of his breath on 4th May 1799. Thus ended the house of Hyder after a brief rule of about forty years during which period the Mysore kingdom reached the zenith of its glory and fell to the deepest depth of degradation almost touching the verge of extinction.

A fearless fighter, an impulsive soldier and a capable General, Tippu started his rule with fighting and so it ended. His lack of political insight and tactlessness created enemies both inside and outside the State and brought ruin to him and his kingdom. He was an enlightened ruler and endeavoured to improve the State. Being a born fighter, organised his army on European lines and improved the administrative efficiency by adopting western methods. He promoted trade and commerce by sending missions to Omman, Persia and Turkey. Both Hyder Ali and Tippu tried to advance the glory of their kingdom with a sense of national spirit, at a time when the Britishers were slowly and steadily working to subjugate the country, and when the Marattas and the Nizam considered it quite proper and moral to help the foreigner against their own neighbour. Both father and son relentlessly fought against the enemies of the country and died at last as heroes of their motherland.

The wars of Tippu had a disastrous effect on the territorial possessions of Mysore. The three victors, the English, Nizam and Marattas apportioned the major parts of the dominions of Mysore, to their territories. The territorial arrangement made at that time to the Marattas and Nizam changed hands. The North and north-eastern parts of the territories of Mysore comprising Bijapur, Belgaum, North Canara and Dharwar, were after the fall of Marattas, incorporated in the Bombay Presidency. In the North-East, the area comprising Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur were handed over to Nizam. Southern, south-eastern and south-western region formed a part of Madras Presidency. Coorg was retained by the British as a separate Commissioner province. Karnataka for centuries, which had individuality and distinction of its own culture and tradition, now split arbitrarily and came at least under nineteen different administrative divisions. By this callous act, Kannadigas came under the linguistic and cultural hegemony of Muslims, Maharastrians, Andhras, Tamilians and Malayalis except for a small

portion of the land of the Kannadigas remained as Mysore to carry on the tradition of Karnataka.

Tippu was the last Indian Sovereign ruler of Mysore to withstand the British empire. Undoubtedly he was a great General and Administrator. It is true, that his rule witnessed harshness and tension but it was inevitable under the circumstances in which Tippu was placed. His lack of political ingenuity and his obstinancy made people to forget the great qualities he possessed as a builder of a nation. It would be interesting to note that he had attempted to construct a dam across the river Cauvery. When the excavation for the foundation of the Modern Dam site was in progress, the Engineers discovered an inscribed stone slab dated 1794. The inscription in Persian contains 'In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful ..... Hazrath Tippu Sulthan, the Lord bestower of gifts, laid the foundation of ..... dam across the river Cauvery to the West of the capital ..... the start is from me, but its completion rests with the God'.[22]

Krishnaraja Wadiyar III :

Lord Wellesley's plan. after the fall of Tippu, was to recognise one of Tippu's sons as successor to Mysore throne but he was deterred from such a decision mainly by consideration of British interest and a dread of French influence and partly also by a regard for the Hindu Royal Family's legitimate title, which was conceeded by the Madras Government early in 1782 in a secret treaty.[23] For the disposal of the conquered territory, Lord Wellesley concluded a treaty between East India Company and the Nizam of Hyderabad on 22nd June, 1799, which provided for a truncated State of Mysore with Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III, as the head of the Government having under his control the territory, area of which corresponded roughly to that of erstwhile Princely State of Mysore. The Company took over the areas which gave a continuous territorial possessions from sea to sea across the southern part of the peninsula. The Nizam's share comprised of the northern districts of Gooty, Gurumkonda and parts of the Chitradurga district.

Since Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar was a minor boy of six years, Purnaiah, who was made Dewan, was also put as Regent till the young ruler came of age, and Purnaiah was to carry on the administration of the State with the advice of the British Resident, Col. Barry Close, and Sir Aurther Wellesley, the Commander of the army stationed at Mysore.

The young Prince Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar was put on the throne

22. Inscription at K.R. Sagar Dam.
23. Mysore State Papers, Vol.1, pp.1-11.

in a formal ceremony on 30th June, 1799, and the conditions on which he was to rule the territory were specified in a subsidiary treaty which determined the nature of political relation between Mysore and the Company. The Maharaja was obligated to receive a military force for the defence and security of his territory and to pay to the Company an annual sum of rupees twenty four and a half lakh for the maintenance of the forces stationed at Mysore.[24] The serious implications of this provision of the treaty was that Mysore State lost its independence and the Maharaja became a nominal sovereign.

Purnaiah as Dewan, as well as Regent, proved a great success in the discharge of heavy responsibility entrusted to him under a delicate and difficult situation. He acquired a wide reputation for high statesmanship by the ability with which he, administered Mysore during the minority of Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III. In the early part of the year 1810, when Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar was sixteen years of age, a serious difference arose between the Raja and the Dewan. Parties inimical to Purnaiah used the situation to vitiate the mind of the Raja to oust Purnaiah from office. The Raja expressed to the Resident a desire to govern over the State himself and to dispense with the Dewan. British Resident instead of counselling patience, allowed a boy of sixteen years to declare himself of his age, to pull the regency down and to seize upon all the power. Purnaiah retired from service in December 1811.

Agrarian Revolt :

The administration of the Raja from 1811-1831 was in the nature of personal autocracy during which time he was handicapped by the absence of capable ministers and honest advisors. The Royal extravagance and lack of governing ability soon brought the affairs of a prosperous country to the verge of ruin. The treasury was dissipated on worthless favourites, the offices of the State were sold to highest bidders and the salaries of the army were in arrears. Added to this, the continued uncertainty of seasons resulted in famine in the year 1823-24. All these factors convulged to create a wholesale economic crisis which the advisors of the Raja were incapable of diognising the causes, had recourse to land for a possible increase of revenue in the form of '*Sharat*', to meet the demands. The result was the Ryots became *impoverished* and groaned under every possible oppression which had a disastrous effect and soon gave rise to agrarian unrest. The Supreme Government sent a warning on the disorder of the Raja's affairs which had reached such a situation as would justify the intervention. Inspite of the warning, the conditions did not improve and symptoms of open rebellion appeared in the Nagar division. The officers who

24. Mysore State Papers, Subsidiary Treaty, Vol.1, pp.25-33.

practiced corruption and malversation, fearing that they would be exposed, connived with seditious activities making the matters worse. The revolt soon spread to other divisions also. Strong reinforcement of troops were sent to suppress the insurgents and Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar himself undertook a tour of the affected areas with top officers and considerable force to meet the danger confronting the Government. Several persons involved in the revolt were hanged, others were flogged or punished. All these measures proved futile to quell the disturbances of the insurgents, and these severe measures adopted by the Raja inflamed the emotions of the people and induced many of them to join the insurgents. Madras Governor made a personal visit to the State and seeing the seriousness of the situation permitted the deployment of the full strength of the subsidiary force. After several operations, Nagar division was taken under control and the disturbances by and large quelled and the rebellious leaders like Sarja Hanumappa Naik were captured and hanged.

The Ryots were pursuaded to return to their fields after offering favourable conditions that the tax would be collected only on the cultivated lands and remission on all waste lands and that no bitty (unpaid) work was to be exacted by the officers for their private purpose. When the normalcy prevailed, the Supreme Government asked the British Resident to submit a full report on the state of affairs and the causes of the disorder in the State. On the basis of this report, Governor-General Lord William Bentink acting on the article IV of subsidiary treaty served a ten day's formal notice on the Raja to take over the reins of administration by the British. The letter of notice stated among other things, 'I have in consequence felt it to be indispensable, as well with reference to the stipulations of the treaty, as from a regard to the obligations of the protective character which the British Government holds towards the State of Mysore, to interfere for its preservation, and to serve the various interests at stake from further ruin. It has seemed to me that in order to do this effectively it will be necessary to transfer the entire administration of the country into the hands of the British Officers'.[25]

The administration of Mysore was transferred into the hands of two Commissioners from 19th October, 1831. These two Commissioners, one senior and another Junior, were under the control of Madras Government to begin with and after 1832, were made subordinate to the Government of India.

The Raja was granted a private allowance of three and a half lakhs of rupees in addition to one-fifth of the gross revenues of the State, though the decision of the Governor-General turned out to be cruel to

25. Evans Bell, Mysore Reversion, p.20.

Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar. However, the Company assured to retain the direct management only as a temporary measure.

Mysore under Commission 1831-1881 :

The Governor-General after assuming the territory of Mysore vested the administration of the Government in a board of two Commissioners who often differed in opinion and turned out to be an agency ill-suited for the organisation and working a proper system of Government. Noticing this anomaly, the Court of Directors appointed Col. C. B. Morison as single Commissioner with certain suitable changes in the administration. The six administrative divisions were reconstituted into Four divisions i.e., *Bangalore, Nagar, Chitradurga* and *Ashtagrama.* Madhugiri was absorbed into Chitradurga and Manjarabad into Ashtagrama. To begin with, the instruction of the Governor-General was to administer the State entirely by means of native agency but soon it became known that the existing machinery of Government was unworkable and several other factors hampered any progress in administration. Each division was placed under a European Superintendent who exercised the Revenue and Judicial powers. Under each Superintendent there was a principal Sadar Munsiff, but two years later European assistants were added to the staff of the Superintendent with detailed instructions as to their duties.

Cubbon's Administration :

Sir Mark Cubbon was the Commissioner from 1834 to 1861. During this period numerous reforms were introduced in the administration. In the official parlance, Mysore, in this period, was called a non-regulation province, that is, a province in which the old regulations and acts in force in the regulation provinces had not been extended; in which, fewer officers were employed; and in which, executive and judicial functions were to a great extent exercised by the same persons.

Initially, the aim of the Commission was not to introduce a new system of Government but to reform the flagrant abuses in the old system and to liberate trade and commerce, and to help the agricultural classes against tyranny and extortion and to purify the administration of justice and also to develop the resources of the country.

The Revenue System :

The revenue systems in force at that time were the Ryotwari and the Batayi. The Commission rule kept the Ryotwari in a liberalised form as it was organised and left by Dewan Purnaiah. The Batayi system meant an equal division of the crops between the cultivator and the Government. This was purified of its vexatious characteristics by

converting the payment of the revenue into money payment. Under improved Ryotwari system the lands were classified as Kushki (dry), Tari (wet), and Bagayat (garden).

Village was the unit of administration with a fixed boundary and its beriz.* The inhabitants of the village preserved their own rules, usages, and manners. Each Village had its own agricultural corporation. This establishment which was called *Barabaluthi* in Marati and *Ayangadi* in Kannada, comprised of twelve officers of the village Shanbog (registrar of accounts) Gowda (head-man) with limited (police powers), Kammara (Blacksmith), Badagi (Carpenter), Agasa (Washerman), Nayinda (Barber), Madiga (Meanial labourer), Akkasala (Goldsmith), Kumbara (Potter), Thoti (Village watchman), Talari (Scout of the village), Niraganti (Regulator of irrigation water). In most of the cases there were certain fees payable to them in money by the Government or in kind by the Ryots. Normally, Shanbog, Thoti and Talari were given either land, free of rent, or on a light assessment. In some villages the number of complement was extended by the school master who taught the children of the village, a *Panchangi* who calculated their festivals and anniversaries, and the *Pujari* who worshipped the village diety or God. These individuals were not given any support from the Government but Ryots willingly assisted them substantially. Whenever these village officer enjoyed Government lands, the alienation, mortgage or transfer in any way of these lands was strictly prohibited. According to an estimate of 1850-51 there were 50,709 persons borne on accounts as Barabaluthi who enjoyed land to annual value and received a money allowance together amounting to Rs. 1,47,517. [26]

In Malnad, mainly, the Nagar division, the institutions were different. The land revenue was known in the Maidan parts as *Kandayam* and in Malnad parts as *Shist*. Villages were almost unknown. The owner of each estate had big house in a part of it, and his tenants, labourers and workers lived in different allotments. Two or three Ryots acted for the whole taluk. *Jeetha* system or a kind of bonded labour existed in Malnad. It did not in its original signification imply any notion of servitude. It was of two kinds namely Honnalu and Mannalu of which former might and the latter might not, be transferred from the land to which they were attached. Even this was abrogated by the police regulations during the Commissioner's rule. All land in Malnad was considered as belonging to Sirkar. The registered land holders paid the assessment direct to Sheikdar or Shanbog as there was no village establishment.

At the cultivation season the Sheikdar made a tour of the villages in his circle and advised and directed the Shanbogs in their duties.

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*Beriz was the amount of revenue fixed to be drawn from the village.

26. B. L. Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, p.643.

Shanbog assisted Sheikdar in all Governmental work. Whenever the Amildar visited the Hobali, the Sheikdar was his main assistant in settling *Jamabandi.*

Amildar made a tour of the Hobali in the month of September to ascertain the conditions and the prospects of the season and to see that the Shanbogs and Sheikdars were exerted themselves to bring the land under cultivation. After *Jamabandi* of villages, Amildar forwarded to the Superintendents an estimate of his work and turn out. Amildar was the key figure in the administrative hierarchy and this was the highest executive post, then, open to a Mysorean. The Amildar in Mysore possessed greater discretion in revenue and magisterial functions than his counterpart in Madras province.

Superintendent was a collector, magistrate and judge. He was in-charge of a very vast area of a division. He proceeded on his *Jamabandi* circuit as soon as Amildars concluded the settlement of their taluks. He distributed the pattas of each cultivator prepared by Amildars of each taluk which contained the description of the land held by the Ryot, assessment of revenue and other taxes. Each patta was read out to the Ryot and any error or mistake was verified and corrected then and there on the spot. This system of issuing pattas brought every tax payer in personal contact with the Superintendents and provided an opportunity to everyone to seek redress of any grievance. This also served as a check against any oppression of Ryots. This was the main advantage of the Ryotwari system which prevailed in Mysore. On these circuits, Superintendents caused examination of village accounts, disputes of various description and works of irrigation in the division and every other thing possible.

Judicial System :

During the twenty seven years of Cubbon's rule the judicial system in Mysore changed both in form and spirit, and he endeavoured to make law and courts popular and useful. The principles enunciated in the administration of criminal justice were undoubtedly to the benefit of the public, though the students of legal doctrine would not accept all of them. The recognised courts were: Taluk Courts 85, Town Municipal Courts 2, Principal Sadar Munsiff's Courts 8, Superintendents Courts 4, Huzur Adalt Court 1, Court of the Commissioner 1.[27] The principles prescribed by the Madras code of 1816 and Satara Rules together with what was found to be best in the practices of the State, were drawn up as code for Mysore for the guidance these courts. The language of all judicial proceedings and decisions was Kannada, but in case, the language of the judicial officer of the court was other than Kannada he would write his decision in his

27. C. S. R. Rao, The Mysore Commission, p.12.

own language and it was translated into Kannada. A copy of both original and the translation were placed on record. If any judicial officer was sufficiently conversant with Kannada to use it instead of his own language he was at liberty to do so.

For all civil and criminal investigations, Panchayats were summoned and the prisoner had the permission to challenge as defendent. No criminal investigation was permitted to be carried out without a Panchayat but it was optional in civil cases.

Villagers were authorised and encouraged to use arms of every description in defending themselves and their property whenever exposed to danger. Valient defenders were bestowed with valuable presents by the Government.

Problems :

When the Company took over the administration, the political claims of the Pallegars had not been settled and this problem caused considerable amount of strain on the administration which was busy in establishing law and order in the country. Cubbon gradually settled the affairs of the Pallegars by three fold policy of: (i) weaning away their followers from Pallegars and encouraging them to take to cultivation; (ii) and compelling the representatives of the Pallegar families to reside in Bangalore; (iii) and by pensioning of all those who had valid claims on the sympathy of the Government. [28]

The pressing problem for the administration was the Muslim poverty as some of the leading families among them were not prepared to take up any office under the Government or enter into any business enterprise. They still cherished the days of Hyder and Tippu, and were hankering for pension for their maintenance on their so called right to public support. This attitude had lamentable effect of destroying initiative and exertion among a section of this community. Cubbon succeeded in pursuading the younger members of these families to join the service to find suitable work. He discouraged a race of idle pensioners by reducing progressively the stipends.

The administration faced some communal problems which were not between Hindus and Muslims who inhabitted the territory but they were the internal affairs of each community. These problems were solved in judicious manner by the fair stand taken by Cubbon on each issue. to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. In 1832, Sepoy Osman Beig threw a dead swine into the Idiga at Bangalore to bring the Government to disrepute for which he was tried and executed.[29] On the eve of Sepoy Mutiny, the Muslims in Mysore formed conspiracy

28. K. N. V. Sastry, The Administration of Mysore, p.62.
29. K. N. V. Sastry, The Administration of Mysore, p. 68.

against the Government. In 1860, Gulam Muhammad, son of Tippu, in pursuance of a political motive wanted to visit Srirangapatna under false pretext of alleged mismanagement of the funds of his family tomb. Cubbon, backed by the Maharaja, refused permission to visit Srirangapatna. During Cubbon's period, there was no serious inter-communal clash except one which arose out a proposal of the Lingayats to go in a procession before a mosque of Sait Musalmans of Mysore Town, which was conciliated by the Superintendent of the division.

Progress under Cubbon :

Sir Mark Cubbon's statesman-like policy along with the exertions of his select body of able administrative officers, achieved results beyond all praise. Lord Dalhousie in a praise of Cubbon's administration wrote, "During the period of twenty-five years which was elapsed since Mysore came under the administration of British officers, every department has felt the hands of reform. An enormous number of distinct taxes have been abolished relieving people in direct payment to the extent of $10\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs of rupees a year and doubtless the indirect relief given by this measure has exceeded even the direct relief, excepting a low tax upon coffee no new tax appears to have been imposed, and no old tax appears to have been increased. Nevertheless, the public revenue has risen from forty-four lakhs to eighty-two lakhs of rupees per annum." [30]

In the administration of civil and criminal justice, regularity, order, and purity have been introduced, where under native rule, caprice, uncertainty and corruption prevailed. Substantive justice was promptly dispensed, and the people themselves were taught to aid in this branch of administration by means of a system of Panchayat which was whole-some and efficient. In brief, the system of administration which was established, whether in fiscal or judicial department although it may be, no doubt was capable of material improvement, was infinitely superior to that which it superseded ; and had within itself, the elements of constant progress.

Codes of Instruction :

As a few laws were required, there was no legislature in the State. However, there were five codes of instructions prepared in 1834 for the use of officers. They were the judicial regulations, the police Hukumnama, the Marama rules, the General letter of instructions, and the old Hukumnama to the Amildars. Most of the Governmental work was regulated by circular instructions. In theory, the orders of the Governor-General either in person or in Council, were the laws. But

30. Provincial Gazetteer of India, Mysore, p.26.

rarely did he exercise this power against the wishes of the Commissioner. To begin with, there was little inclination to introduce legislative enactments. After sometime the Governor-General permitted the Commissioner to introduce certain laws in Mysore as an experiment. The legislation against institution fees, and vexatious litigation were typical examples of this policy. In 1859, the Government of India asked the Commissioner to introduce the Punjab Limitation Act and the Indian penal code and procedure codes. A simple but complete code of Rules for guidance of the Amildars, compiled partly from Punjab Rules and partly from the provisions of Act VIII of 1859, was drawn up. The translation of which was distributed to Taluk courts.

Education :

The period of Cubbon was the age of Macaulay's minute on western education and of Wood's despatch on the State control of public instruction.[31] The year of 1840 was the starting point of English education in Mysore. A free English school was founded in Mysore under the supervision of a Wesleyan missionary, Rev. T. Hudson. Another Wesleyan mission school was started in Bangalore in 1842 to which the Commissioner granted a monthly allowance of Rs. 50. Mrs. Sewell of the London mission started the first girls school at Bangalore in 1840. In 1852 the Government appointed a Committee of education in the State. From 1857 onwards the State directly controlled education in accordance with the general Indian educational policy by creating a department of education.

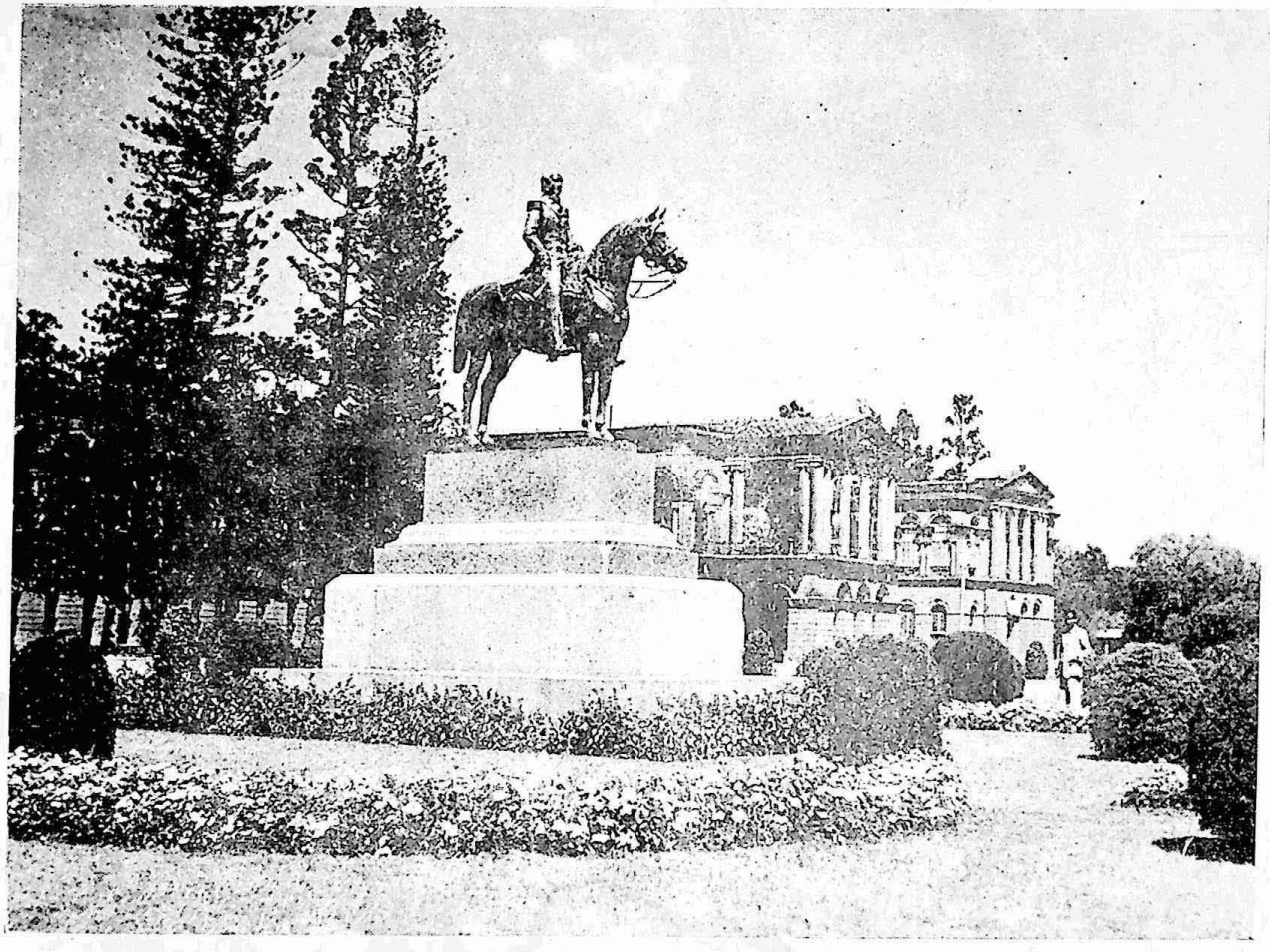
Army :

When the Commission took over the administration, the police and the army were hopelessly inefficient. Their organisation was in confusion and their strength was unknown. The army was demoralised both by inefficient commondents and by worthless regulations. Mutinies were common in the army in the early days of the Commission. A thorough reform was needed to put them on the satisfactory basis. The Mysore forces which were divided into the Barr (infantry) and Silledar (horses) was improved under European supervision. Cubbon himself was fond of horses and he suggested a plan to improve the local breed and to oust the Arab horses from the Deccan market and to make Government less dependent on foreign aid for replenishing the native Cavalry. The pay of these forces were increased and usefully employed in police duties, guarding treasury and escorting prisoners.

Police :

Before 1834, there was no organised police force in Mysore whatever functioning, that was organised on the remains of the old *Kandachar*

31. Sastry, K. N. V., op. cit., p.82.



Sir Mark Cubbon who introduced Rule of Law in Mysore State

or armed militia which was closely identified with agricultural population, and was devoid of discipline and training. The police code issued in 1834 defined the duties of the *Kandachar*. The *Kandachar* and the police were made supplementary to one another but not interchangable. The regular police in each taluk was placed under the Amildar, who had a Killedar, a Naib Killedar or Duffedar and Hobalidars, to assist him in his police duties. The Superintendents were empowered to appoint, promote and to remove Killedars. The people were enjoined to co-operate with Amildars in maintaining nightly watches, detecting robbers, and suppressing gang and torch robbery. At the close of the Cubbon's administration the system was well organised to suit the needs of the State, and special establishments of trained and organised police were stationed at Tumkur, Mysore, Shimoga and Bangalore.

Authority of the Commissioner :

The year 1861 marked the close of the era of benevolent personal ule in Mysore, when Cubbon left Mysore. More than twenty seven years, Cubbon had strived hard to modernise the administration without sacrificing the native elements, consistent with policy declared by the Court of Directors. According to the terms of the subsidiary treaty, the Chief Executive auhority was vested in the Governor-General in Council. Every department of administration was under his control. He was answerable only to the Court of Directors. But he ruled the State through the Commissioner whose powers were most extensive. Even the Supreme Government was guided by his views and his conduct was seldom questioned. The authority of the Commissioner could not be questioned by any body within the State. His administrative responsibilities were further increased when the charge of the Coorg was added to Mysore from 1836 and the charge of Residency was abolished in 1843 as separate office. Inspite of the increased work and responsibility the exact status of the Commissioner was never defined, nor was his salary increased, and his tentage allowance remained at Rs. 5½ per day while on tour. The Commissioner had four European assistants upto 1856 but afterwards only two. The duties of the Commissioner were both civil and military. From 1856 the judicial functions were transferred when a separate Judicial Commissioner was appointed.

Reorganization of Divisions :

The entire State was reorganised into three divisions of Nandidurga, Ashtagrama, and Nagar in the place of four divisions. Nandidurga was divided into three districts of Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur; Ashtagrama was divided into Mysore and Hassan districts; and the

Nagar division was reorganised into Shimoga, Kadur and Chitradurga districts. In the administrative work the Divisional Superintendents were assisted by the Deputy Superintendents of the districts

Regulation System :

In 1862, Cubbon was succeeded by Mr. L. B. Bowering as Commissioner of Mysore. There was a marked change in the policy pursued by the Government of India in the administration of Mysore. The policy of adhering to the native usage, agency and institutions was given up. The growth of industry, trade and communication necessitated the reorgansation of administration. So, the time had come to modify what was called Patriarchal system. The Government became more scientific, formal and rigid. Rules and regulations became prominent. Power passed from individual to Secretariat, from man to machine, and from personal to impersonal.[32] No doubt, the change had beneficial effect in some respect. The Government undertook general responsibility for the welfare of the people and their property. But the opportunities, which gifted officials like Cubbon at the helm of affairs enjoyed, disappeared for ever.

With the introduction of regulating system, the administration of Mysore came to be organised on the model of Punjab system. Districts were organised into taluks which became units of administration. The taluks were divided into five classes according to their extent and revenue. Land revenue assessment was fixed for forty years. Further attention was paid for the protecton of irrigation works and conservation of forests. Attention was also paid to the public health and organisation of medical relief. The Indian budget system of Audit and Accounts was introduced. Municipal committees were formed, for the first time, as an experimental measure in 1862 at Bangalore and Mysore. By the year 1864-65 every district headquarter had such a committee.

Mysore being a native State no differentiation was made between the legislative and executive functions of the Government. Prior sanction of the Governor-General was required if any legislative enactment was to be extended to the territory of Mysore. As many as eighty two such acts were introduced to Mysore either in full or in part.

The two other important events occured during Bowering's administration which changed the course of events in Mysore were the recognition of the adoption of Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar as successor to the thorne of Mysore by the Home Government in England, in 1867, and the death of Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III, in March 1868.

32. Sastry, K. N. V., op. cit., p.228.

Restoration :

The deposition of the Maharaja in 1831 was a hasty measure and there was no sufficient reason for continued exclusion of the Raja from assuming the administration of his State. As such, the Raja continued to press his claim for restoration of the administration to his control. The Supreme Government and the Home authorities never rejected or contested his claim but only postponed their assent to a more convenient season placing before him the prospects of reinstatement as soon as orderly administration for the country had been effectively established. The improvements and progress made under Cubbon's administration and lust for patronage lured the top officials to tighten their hand on Mysore territory. Authorities both at Calcutta and in England postponed the issue on the alleged incompetence of the Raja as an obstacle and a hinderence for immediate reinstallation. By 1847, an indication of simple reluctance to part with the management of so rich and thriving province was hinted in a despatch.[33] When Lord Dalhousie succeeded Lord Hardinge, turned the vague predilictions into a predetermined policy. He indicated his desire and design 'to incorporate Mysore with British dominions when the decease of the Maharaja shall come to pass, without a son or grandson or legal male heir of any description. [34] The minute of Lord Dalhousie was one of the legacies left behind for the instruction and guidance of his successor, Lord Canning to annex Mysore territory under the famous Doctrine of Lapse. In furtherance of this ulterior motive, Lord Canning proposed to the Home Office the transferance of the Superintendence of Mysore territory from the Government of India to Madras Government. The Raja foreseeing the danger, protested against the plan which had been arranged by the Home Office in London as a breach of the treaty of 1799. This design was also resented by Sir Mark Cubbon, Commissioner of Mysore and as a protest he tendered his resignation which prevented the transfer of Mysore administration to Madras Presidency. Thus matters restored to their former footing and Cubbon consented to remain in office as Commissioner.[35]

In 1861, the Maharaja reiterated his request for restoration stating that 'the avowed object for which the Government of Mysore was temporarily assumed, has long been since accomplished, and there is no justifiable pretext for its further retention' for which he received an unfavourable reply. Lord Canning rejected all claims and arguments put forward by the Raja on the basis that the obligations of the British Government to the people of Mysore were as sacred as its self-imposed

33. Despatch of Court of Directors, dated 14-7-1847.
34. Dalhousie, Minute dated 16-1-1856.
35. Evans Bell., op. cit., p.56.

obligation to the Maharaja. More or less the same view was expressed by the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood.[36]

At this juncture it was interesting to note that L. B. Bowering who was Private Secretary to Lord Canning, had been gazetted as 'Commissioner of Mysore', while Cubbon was always designated as 'the Commissioner for the Government of the territories of the Raja of Mysore'.

Although Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III, was deeply disappointed by the rejection of his legitimate claim for restoration, he did not loose heart but on the other hand continued his efforts with indomitable will to appeal to the other higher authorities in England.[37]

Adoption :

At this stage, Sri Laxminarasa Chetty, a prominent member of the Madras Legislative Council and Proprietor of a newspaper *'The Crescent'* who watched closely the intransigent attitude the British Government and helpless predicament of the Maharaja, visited Mysore and advised the Raja to adopt a son and press for the recognition of the rights of the adopted son by the Government of England.[38] The Raja adopted the third son of Chikka Krishne Urs of Bettadakote family on 18th June, 1865, as successor to all his rights and privileges, including the sovereignty of Mysore.[39] With the adoption of a son by the Maharaja, the Mysore question assumed a double dimension, i.e., the restoration of the Government and the recognition of adoption. The public opinion in England widely stirred on the intransigent attitude of the Secretary of State and shortly after, many influential public spirited men in England took earnest interest in the Mysore question. A deputation comprising of members of British Parliament and other public men including Col. Briggs, who was the Commissioner of Mysore, headed by Sir Henry Rawalinson, member of the House of Commons waited on the Secretary of State, and impressed on him for a reconsideration of the entire case relating to Mysore particularly in the light of adoption made by the Raja.[40] The matter was also brought before the House of Commons and stoutly supported by John Stuart Mill, a well-known political philosopher, for taking steps to ensure with least possible delay the re-establishment of native Government in the tributory State of Mysore.[41] Then the British press took up the Mysore issue and wrote editorials on the merrits of the case, which influenced

36. Mysore Gazetteer, p.2925.
37. Ibid., p.2926.
38. Sharma Rao, op. cit., p.567.
39. Mysore Gazetteer, p.2924.
40. Ibid., p.2926.
41. Ibid., p.2927.

the British public opinion when the matter was on the unviel of the Parliament.[42] Major Evans Bell, a powerful political writer argued the case for Mysore in his famous book *'The Mysore Reversion'* with forensic ability.[43] The Home Government gave a favourable response to recognise the right of the Raja's adopted son to inherit his kingdom but gave no support to the personal restoration to the ageing Raja as he had parted with it thirty years ago and who had become unused to the toils of Government. The decision of the Home Government was communicated to the Raja on 16th June, 1867 and it was received by the Raja with mixed feelings of disappointment as well as consolation.[44] He was disappointed because his plan for personal restoration was negatived. However, he consoled himself because the complete extinction of his State was reversed and his aopted son was recognised as his successor and to that extent it gave him satisfaction.

Unfortunately, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III, did not live to see the consummation of his long drawn struggle for native rule over his territory. His health began to fail towards the end of February, 1868. He expired on the 27th March, 1868. The proclamation issued by the Government of India on 30th March, 1868 announced to the people of India in general and to the Chiefs and people of Mysore in particular, the death of Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar and acknowledged His Highness Chamarajendra Wadiyar, the adopted son of late Maharaja as successor to the Mysore territories.

Rule of Law :

The people of Mysore, under fifty years of British rule, had acustomed to be governed by principles. The administration in Mysore fairly compared with the standard which prevailed in British Indian territory. Thus the Government of India contemplating to take adequate guarantees against any prejudicial changes under its future ruler, and it was considered necessary to determine certain conditions. These conditions were to serve as something of the nature of a constitution for Mysore. The main conditions proposed were that: (i) a clear distinction must be drawn between the private fortune of the Maharaja and the public revenues of the State, and a fixed amount should be assigned to the Chief and the rest of the revenue must remain available for the public purpose through appropriation by constitutional authorities; (ii) there should be permanent security for the observance of established rules, rights and usages meant for the transaction of public affairs; (iii) the assessment and the collection of revenues must be defined and maintained; (iv) the civil and criminal justice must be

42. Mysore State Papers, sel. 91, p.111.
43. Evans Bell, op. cit., p.90.
44. Mysore State Papers, sel. 93, p.370.

dispensed by regularly constituted tribunals and the restrictions upon the prosecution of public servants for acts done in their public capacity were to be the same as those established in the laws of British India; (v) in the interest of good administration and for insulating against mal-administration and inefficiency, it was considered expedient to provide Maharaja with not more than three Councillors and high officials of known ability and experience which would ensure due deliberation under distinct responsibility.

These conditions were to create a constitutional fabric of Government resting on its own foundations and to a great extent independent of the personality of the Ruler.[45] Though the Chief authority and ultimate Government responsibility vests actually as well as nominally with the State's Ruler, all important acts and orders, must necessarily pass through certain departmental formalities and joint consultation before they are issued in the name of the Maharaja and by his will. Embodying these principles and other proposals a draft of a written instrument was submitted to the Secretary of State for India in March 1880 for his approval. This document which contained certain conditions on the future political relations of the Raja with the British Government, was called the Instrument of Transfer.

Instrument of Transfer :

The first seventeen clauses of the Instrument comprised all the principal conditions, territorial, financial and military upon which the relations of the Mysore Government with the British were to continue. It was stipulated that the succession to the throne of Mysore required formal confirmation and recognition by the Paramount power. The Maharaja and his successors should remain faithful at all times in allegiance and subordinate to the British Government and perform all duties which may be demanded of them.[46]

The British Government undertook to protect and defend the State from external danger and prevention of political disorder within the State, and in consideration of such undertaking the State undertook to pay to the British Government an annual sum of rupees thirty-five lakhs in two half-yearly instalments.[47]

The Maharaja has to assign, free of charge, such land as may be required for maintenance of British Cantonment and renounce all jurisdiction within the land so granted, in perpetual assignment.[48]

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45. Mysore Papers, Parliamentary Blue Book, Part-IV, p.140.
46. Instrument of Transfer, Art. 3 & 4.
47. Ibid., Art. 5.
48. Ibid., Art. 9.

The Maharaja could have no political relations with any State except through the Governor-General in council and he was not allowed to possess more troops, arms and amunitions or military equipment that was not permitted by the Governor-General. [49]

The Maharaja was bidden at all times, to conform to such advice as the Governor-General may offer him on matters of the State affairs and any other subject connected with the advancement of His Highness's interest, the happiness of his subjects and his relations to the British Government. The Instrument of Transfer prescribed not only internal and external obligations of the Maharaja towards the British Government but also represented the security for the due observance of conditions on which the State administration was vested. Under the protective clauses, the Maharaja ceases to be self-reliant in terms of military strength. In case of breach of these conditions, the Governor-General in Council was free to resume the possession of the territory and direct the administration as he would deem necessary. The right of interference in the State was practically unlimited and could at any time be exercised by virtue of general supremacy and paramount authority vested in him. [50]

Thus the Instrument of Transfer imposed on the Maharaja a number of obligations, imposed several positive duties and placed a number of disabilities. Added to this, the Instrument released the subsidiary treaty of 1799, making the position of the State more precarious than it was under the previous treaty. These unilaterally imposed conditions were in force till 1913 when the Instrument of Transfer was replaced by a treaty which assured greater autonomy and powers for the internal administration of the State. [51]

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49. Ibid., Art. 10.
50. Instrument of Transfer, Art. 23.
51. The Mysore Treaty, 1913, Mysore State Papers, Vol. I, pp.55-61.

Chapter II

Genesis of the Representative Assembly

Rendition :

The rendition was effected on the 25th March, 1881. Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar X was formally installed on the throne and invested with full ruling powers by the proclamation of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council. Sri Chamaraja Wadiyar filled this exalted position with dignity, honour and political sagacity. From the time Sri Chamaraja Wadiyar was recognised as the ruler of Mysore, efforts were being made by the British Government with unwearing solicitude to give the young Prince the advantage of an education suitable to his rank and position and calculated to prepare him for the duties of State administration. He was taken on extensive tours through the province and made to acquaint himself of the country over which he was to preside. The system and the principles of administration of the province and matters connected therewith were often explained to him as also the leading facts of constitutional history and the fundamental principles of political economy. Thus the young Prince was given suitable education and training to accept the responsibilities as a ruler of the State. The proclamation issued on the death of Krishnaraja Wadiyar, had said, that 'when His Highness attain to the period of majority, that is the age of eighteen years, and if His Highness shall, then, be found qualified for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position, the government of his country will be entrusted to him subject to such conditions as may be determined at that time'.[1] The British Government after faithfully discharging its self-imposed task of giving such an education as qualified him for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position proclaimed at the rendition, "Now, therefore, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council announces to the Chiefs and people of Mysore by command of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India that His Highness Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur is placed in possession of the territories of Mysore and invested with the

1. Parliamentary Blue Book-Part-iv, p.132.

administration of the Mysore State and declares further that the administration of the aforesaid territories by the British Government has on this day ceased and determined."[2] By this proclamation the Mysore administration, once again came under native rule.

Influence of Liberals :

The Rendition of 1881 synchronised with the liberals coming to power in England. Gladstone a great liberal, who believed in a government based on the good will and consent of the ruled, was at the helm of affairs in England. In India Lord Lytton was succeeded by Lord Ripon as Governor-General and Ripon was a great enthusiast in giving effect to the liberal tradition of Gladstone. Ripon's Viceroyship opened a new phase in the Indian administration. He gave encouragement for constitutional reforms, repealed the vernacular Press Act of 1878, fostered the freedom of expression. He was instrumental in introducing the elective system in the District Boards and Municipalities giving more popular control. He endeavoured to remove racial inequality in the administration of justice through the famous Ilbert Bill. The political and national consciousness of Indians enkindled during his regime largely contributed for organising the Indian National Congress in 1885. Ripon publicly echoed that "the time was fast approaching when even in India popular power could become an irresistable force, and government would have to be guided by popular views."

Rangacharlu :

In this back drop of the liberal principles of the West, Rangacharlu became the first Dewan of Mysore at the Rendition. On 25th March 1881 a durbar was held at the Palace in Mysore to invest Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar with full ruling powers over the territories of Mysore. On the same day, a proclamation was issued appointing Sri C. V. Rangacharlu as the Dewan of the State. The proclamation stated "For the conduct of the executive administration of the said territories under our command and control, we have resolved to appoint a Dewan. And we are placing trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgement of Chettipuniam Veeravalli Rangacharlu, C.I.E., do hereby appoint the said Rangacharlu to be our Dewan for the conduct of the executive administration of the said territories."[3] The Maharaja also constituted a Council to be styled "The Council of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore" consisting of the Dewan as the Ex-Officio President and of two or more members to be appointed specially from time to time.

The Council was entrusted with the duty of submitting for the

2. Ibid., p.234.
3. Mysore Gazette, Dated 25-3-1881.

consideration of the Maharaja its opinion on all questions relating to legislation and taxation and on all other important measures connected with administration. In this Council Rangacharlu, the Dewan, was the Ex-Officio member and Purna Krishna Rao and Attupakam Rathna Sabhapathy Mudaliar were the other members. The term of office of the other members of the Council was fixed at 3 years or during the Maharaja's pleasure. Sriyuths Purna Krishna Rao and Rathna Sabhapathy Mudaliar had retired from service at the time of their appointment to the Council. Their inclusion in the Council was at the desire of Rangacharlu to have the non-official element in the Council. Rangacharlu as Dewan had to guide the affairs of the State with great skill and foresight. "Patriotic to the Core, sensitive to the aspirations of the people, responsive to the new spirit of the times, he knew how vital the success of the new administration was, not only for the future of the State but also for instilling a new sense of confidence in his own country fellow-men in the ability of Indians to manage their own affairs."[4] When Rangacharlu assumed office, the State was in great economic distress and financial difficulty. The State had not yet recovered from the effects of the great famine. It was burdened with a debt of 80 lakhs of rupees. No new taxes could be lived owing to impoverished State of the country. The revenues of the State had been reduced considerably. The State had to pay rupees four lakhs to the Government of India as interest per year on the 80 lakhs borrowed for famine relief. During the last days of the Commission, Rangacharlu had taken steps to effect economy of expenditure. As Dewan, he continued the work. More than all these he wanted to infuse confidence in the heart of the people who were oppressed by the devastating famine. The new Government earnestly wanted to provide itself with a means to guage popular opinion on the measures of the Government from time to time.

Gordon's Suggestions :

Sir James Gordon, the last Chief Commissioner of Mysore suggested in a minute dated 10th February 1879, to the Government of India the advisability of forming a deliberative (body) assembly. The scheme was a very modest one. He proposed the "Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja may, with advantage, be supplemented by a deliberative Assembly composed of eminent retired officials, representatives of great local families and representatives of various sections and interests of the people before whom the proposed legislation, important measures of administrative reforms and budget appropriation of public money might be placed for discussion and opinion. This Council might

4. N. S. Chandrasekhara—Dewan Rangacharlu, p.94.

well consist of, say, ten members, one of each of seven districts and three additional."[5]

Though the measure was very modest one it did not find favour with Lord Lytton, the then Governor-General, who remarked 'That it had usually been found that deliberative Assemblies with no specific legislative, financial or executive authority posssessing only the power of recording opinions which need not be accepted, tended either to fall out of repute or to develop into greater activity and influence than might have been originally contemplated'. This proposal was rejected on the ground that 'It was premature to introduce in the beginning an institution which has not yet been tried in British India, and which is not known to have succeeded elsewhere under the circumstances analogous to those of Mysore'.[6] The conservative Prime Minister Disreali with Lord Cranbrook as Secretary of State for India never approved any progressive and enlightened policy towards India. On the other hand, whenever liberals were in power, India enjoyed peace and good Government. 'The foundations of Local Government were laid. District and Local Bodies were created. Members of these bodies were elected and were entrusted with the management of Local Bodies and Municipalities, whenever the Tories had been in power for a long time, India had drifted into a foolish and unjust annexation into sinful and disastrous wars'.[7]

Encouraged by James Gordon's earlier suggestion and benefited by his views as first Resident after rendition, Dewan Rangacharlu took the unprecedented courageous step of establishing the Assembly of representative Ryots and Merchants, the first of its kind in the entire country.

Preliminary Meeting :

Taking advantage of the Dasara session, when a large number of people could congregate in the Capital, Sri Rangacharlu thought of bringing together a number of representative Ryots and Merchants from every taluk in the province. He summoned a meeting of principal Ryots and Merchants from all parts of the State on 29th March, 1881 for the purpose of discussing and exchanging views on public matters and a decision was taken to bring into existence the new popular institution. The deliberations of this meeting were placed before the Maharaja with a proposal for the creation of a representative body. The Maharaja not only commended the proposal but felt that if the Assembly comes into existence it would fecilitate to bring the rulers and the ruled together into close touch and that permanence and stability

5. Selections from Parliamentary Blue Book, Part-IV, pp. 162-163.
6. Speeches and Papers of Indian Question, p.31.
7. Selections from Parliamentary Blue Book, Part-IV, p. 142.

would be given to the administration. Thus the deliberations of March, 1881, meeting resulted in the issue of a proclamation dated 25th August, 1881 in which the nature and the constitution of the Assembly was stated as follows: "His Highness the Maharaja is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended, and he is of the opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this objective may be made by an annual meeting of the representative land holders and merchants from all parts of the province, before whom Dewan will place the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried in the coming year. Such an arrangement by bringing the people into immediate communication with the Government would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehension in regard to the views and actions of the Government and would convince them that the interest of the Government are identical with those of the people. This annual meeting will be conveniently held at Mysore immediately after the close of the Dasara festival which occasion will offer an additional inducement to those invited to attend the meeting."[8]

First Meeting:

The proclamation was received with genuine pleasure and Dewan had no difficulty in assembling the reprsentatives of the people and the first meeting of the Assembly was held on 7th October, 1881, under the Presidentship of Dewan Rangacharlu. The official name of the Assembly in the beginning was "The Assembly of Representative Ryots and Merchants from all the Taluks of the province of Mysore." Two cultivating land holders from each Taluk and three to four leading merchants from each district were invited. The first meeting was attended by 144 members although the attendance had been declared voluntary by the Government Order. Rangacharlu, addressing the first meeting, explained the object aimed at by bringing the Assembly into existence in the following terms. "We are met here to-day by the Command of His Highness the Maharaja and it is His Highness wish that I should place before you a report of the administration of the past year and an outline of the measures proposed to be carried into effect in the coming year. His Highness hopes that by this arrangement the action of the Government will be brought into greater harmony with the wishes and the interests of the people. His Highness Government will be glad to receive any observations and suggestions which you may wish to make in the public interest and I need not assure you that they will meet with every consideration. I have only to express my hope that appreciating

8. Dewan's address to Representative Assembly, 7-10-1881, Vol. I, p.1.

the spirit in which these arrangements have been initiated, your observations may be directed to matters of real public interest."[9] Thus the functions of the Assembly were declared to be hearing from the Dewan the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the ensuing year and to make observations and suggestions and to voice grievances and bring to the notice of the Government the needs of the people and to watch and criticise the working of the Government.

The notification for establishing a Representative body in Mysore State marked an important event in the constitutional history of Mysore because the Maharaja and His Dewan began to take their subjects into their counsel for the first time. The proclamation issued by the Maharaja after his assumption of the Government simply set forth that the former rights and privileges of the people would not be interfered with unless it was according to sanctioned procedure. The sanctioned procedure meant according to the Instrument of Transfer that no change of any importance would be introduced without the approval of paramount power and no where was mention made of the advisibility or expediency of obtaining the wishes of the people as regards the measures of Government. Thus the notification of 1881 viewed in this light should be regarded as an important State document in which for the first time the right of the people to give their advice in matters that concern the general welfare is acknowledged. The notification distinctly laid down the terms on which the Maharaja wanted to stand with his subjects as regards State matters. "The Government of the Maharaja conceded that all measures of the administration were for the benefit of the people and that therefore it was desirable that they should correctly understand all the wishes and actions of the Government and that this, of course, was not possible unless representative land holders and merchants were brought face to face with the Central head of the Government and all matters of importance discussed openly and without reserve."[10] The Assembly was established to serve as a safety valve against the danger inherent in the administration forcing measures on the people which ran contrary to their wishes which had been amply demonstrated when popular discontent against the reign of Krishnaraja Wadiyar III which had resulted in insurrection in 1831. Rangacharlu being a veteran Civil Servant knew the inherent danger in Bureaucracy, and was anxious to avoid such a catastrophe befalling the State again by associating the people with the Government.

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9. Dewan's Address to Representative Assembly, on 7-10-1881, Pub. Govt. Press, 1914, Vol. I.
10. M. Shama Rao, Ten Years of Native Rule, p.109.

Popularity of the Assembly :

The Assembly was considered a unique one and no precedent existed as to how it would function. The notification merely stated that the Assembly would consists of such of those subjects of His Highness as either by their property or rank were of some consequence in their respective Taluks and who cared to put themselves to the inconvenience and trouble of a journey to the capital. However as the experience showed that there was very little ground for such misgivings. In the first year of the Assembly there were 144 representatives present, and in subsequent years the number of members has been an average of about 200. Gradually the number of members attending the Assembly grew. In 1883 it was 154; in 1884 the number rose to 183; in 1885 to 198. In 1886 District and Local Fund Boards were established and were allowed to send representatives. This brought the strength of the Assembly to 279. The Assembly began its career as a nominated body comprising of the Representative land holders and merchants from all parts of the Province. These persons were nominated by the Government on the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioners who selected in their discretion one or two of the leading and influential land holders from each Taluk within their jurisdiction and three or four merchants from each District. The inauguration of the Assembly was hailed throughout India as a very progressive and beneficial measure. The experience of the Assembly to the members was a strange pleasure. The genuine interest of Sri Rangacharlu in the Assembly encouraged the members to speak out their difficulties and grievances, if they had any. It must be said to the credit of Dewan Rangacharlu that he was basically a democrat and instinctively identified himself with the people. In establishing the Representative Assembly he was acting upon his cherished convictions. He believed that he had created an institution around which the trendrils of the aspirations and hopes of the people would grow. The consciousness of their own identity would be nurtured in them. Instead of being divided, weak and oppressed, the sense of community interest fostered by a popular Assembly would transform them into a united, strong and enlightened people."[11] Unfortunately this distinguished Statesman did not live long enough to see that the people began to realise their responsibilities and privileges. He died on 20th January 1883, and was succeeded by Sir K. Seshadri Iyer whose Dewanship lasted from 1883 to 1901 which period practically covers the growth of the Assembly as a true representative body elected by the people themselves.

11. N. S. Chandrasekhara, op. cit., p.115.

Rules Promulgated :

As the number of members grew, the interest became wider and it became necessary to frame rules for the smooth conduct of business. The composition of the Assembly underwent modification from time to time on progressive and highly satisfactory lines. To secure the views of the more advanced section of every community, important associations having more than one hundred members were granted the privilege of deputing one of their members as their delegate. In all, the total number of members was expected not to exceed 285. As the members increased the Assembly rose in importance. In the year 1887, for the first time rules were promulgated relating to the constitution of the Assembly and the conduct of the business. It was specified that the property qualification was the criterion for membership because 'Property carried with it great responsibilities and always made the owner more sober in his views more practicable and just in his suggestions'.[12] Thus it came to be considered that in an agricultural country like Mysore the land holder should hold the first place and it was accordingly provided that each of the sixty six Taluks should send five of its largest land holders. Further to give representation to all classes and localities, the Local Boards and Municipalities in the State were given the right of nominating members on their own behalf. The number of members from each district was fixed and the names of the members were published in the Official Gazette. The property qualification varied from the annual payment of a land revenue of Rs. 50/- to 500/- according to agricultural conditions of each Taluk. This was intended to secure in the Assembly as full a representation as possible of every interest in the province and thereby to procure the most complete information regarding the wants and wishes of every class of persons.

As to the conduct of business, it was ruled that the representatives of each district were to meet at Mysore to settle among themselves a list of subjects which were intended to be discussed in the Assembly and also to nominate persons to speak on the subjects chosen. The list of subjects together with the names of persons to speak in the Assembly was sent to the Chief Secretary to the Government at least three days before the meeting of the Assembly. The rules of 1887 did not secure the general approbation of the members of the Assembly. To meet the objections and also satisfy the members, the Dewan took out the selection of the members from the hands of the Taluk Amildars and made it incumbent upon the Deputy Commissioner of the districts to personally look to the selection of the members. Even this arrangement did not satisfy the members. The main objection to the Dewan's scheme was that the largest land holders were, as a matter of course invited to the Assembly which of course did not secure men possessed

12. M. Shama Rao—Ten Years of Native Rule, p.110.

of high local influence devoted to public good, and independent character as the method of selection was merely a mechanical one. The Local Boards, Municipalities and public associations were deputing their own representatives and those members were expected to represent the intelligentia of the country. But even these Local and Municipal Boards comprised of members who were either all large land holders or were not far removed from them and the number of public associations with over hundred members were hardly in existence. However, Dewan, recognising the merit in these objections, pleaded before the members to give a fair trial before introducing any further modification to these rules.

Elective Principle :

Encouraged by the success of the Assembly and to improve the composition of the Assembly, the Government took further step towards securing a fuller and a more satisfactory representation of every important interest in the country. 'The moderation, intelligence and the practical good sense which have characterised your discussion in the past years, the material help you have given the Government in the discussion of important questions and the sustained interest you have evinced in the public affairs have convinced His Highness the Maharaja that the time has now come when the wealthier and more enlightened classes may, with safety be left to themselves to choose the members for this Assembly'.[13] To give effect to these objectives, a set of draft rules to regulate the future Constitution of the Assembly were prepared and placed before the Assembly. Under these rules the property qualification for membership in the Assembly was so fixed as to embrace the largest land holders, and the leading merchants and traders, and that high education has been recognised as a qualification by itself. This extended the electoral right to a large section of the people.

A land tax of Rs. 100 to 300 a year or a Municipal rate of Mohatarfa of Rs. 13 to 24 or ownership of one or more Inam villages with a beriz of Rs. 500/- was a qualification both for voting and membership. A high education degree of an Indian University was made a qualification by itself for voter to exercise his privilege of election. All persons qualified by property or education were invited to meet at the head-quarters of their respective Taluks in the first week of *Ashada* (July) on a fixed day of which previous notice of not less than one month was given. At such meeting they nominated from among themselves members for the Representative Assembly to meet at Mysore during the ensuing Dasara (from among themselves 2, 3 or 4 persons according to a fixed scale, as members of the Assembly for their respective

13. Dewan's Address, R.A.P., 1890, p.19.

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Taluks or for the city of Bangalore or Mysore as the case may be). In addition to these members, the various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and Public Associations were to depute members to the Assembly from among their respective bodies and making the maximum number of members of the Assembly about 351.[14] The break up of the membership from different Constituencies was :—

(a) Elected members of the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore.	8
(b) Elected members from 66 Taluks.	212
(c) Members deputed by 8 Municipalities at District Headquarters.	16
(d) Members deputed by Local Fund Boards.	18
(e) Members deputed by 89 other Municipalities.	89
(f) Members deputed by Associations representing public interests.	8
Total	351

This arrangement was intended to ensure representation to all interests in the State. This body was to command the consideration and respect which were usually accorded to the elected representatives of the people. It was true the composition did not ensure a full popular representation as the elections were limited and not proportionate to the population. But step taken to enlarge the Electorate was certainly a commendable one.

Under these rules the grounds of disqualification were also defined. No person who has not completed 18 years of age or who is of unsound mind or who has been convicted of a criminal offence indicating a bad or immoral character shall be eligible to be returned as a member of the Assembly. Government servants were disqualified on the ground that the object of the Assembly was to elicit non-official public opinion. Under these rules representatives from urban areas were elected indirectly by various local bodies in the State.

Sense of Appreciation :

The introduction of elective principle was highly appreciated by the people and members spoke enthusiastically in the Assembly. "Among the Western nations people had to struggle for upwards of a thousand years to obtain such a right. The speedy recognition of our political rights is due to the introduction of English rule and education and the conviction thus imbibed by His Highness Government that your people's interest are identical with your own."[15] In the very first meeting Sri Tangali Seshappa and Janab Syed Amir Ali Sahib expressed on behalf of the assembled representatives their deep sense

14. R.A.P. (Draft Rules)—1890, p.21.
15. R.A.P. 1890, App. 'A', p.121.

of obligation conferred on them and their high appreciation of the interest evinced by His Highness's Government in the welfare of the people and for the high privilege now for the first time, in the history of the country conferred on them, of annually assembling to hear and discuss the report on the affairs of the administration and all matters relating to the welfare of the people. During the course of these years members of the Assembly learnt the qualities of moderation, patience and perseverance. They always spoke with personal knowledge of facts and exercised their right of judgement with a sense of responsibility. Their practical wisdom was admired. Men in every respect qualified to speak on their behalf were elected to the Assembly.

Viceroy Compliments :

The Dewan complimenting the electorate for its well considered choice in exercising this right observed 'That men representing the Capital, the industry and the intellect of the country should have already taken so much interest in the working of the scheme augurs well for the future of the institution'.[16] Even the Viceroys had expressed appreciation for the institution established in Mysore. When Lord Dufferin visited Mysore in 1886, His Excellency complimented the Maharaja for having started the Representative Assembly, the first of its kind in India, said in a reply to an address presented to him "Gentlemen, allow me to thank you for the friendly welcome with which you have greeted me. I am glad to see you around me and am pleased to think that the Maharaja should have called to his counsel men of such intelligence, influence and authority. I am sure both His Highness and the State will derive great benefit from your assistance." [17]

Still better appreciation was borne out by Lord Lanse Downe when, as a Viceroy, His Excellency said, "The enquiries which I have made from those who are best able to judge have satisfied me that the proceedings of the Assembly have served a most useful purpose and brought His Highness into touch with all classes of the Community. I have heard with much pleasure that your discussions have been conducted in a thoroughly practical spirit, and that on the one hand the members have not hesitated to bring forward grievances where they existed, while on the other the Dewan has dealt in the frankest possible manner with the suggestions which have been made."[18] The establishment of Representative Assembly in Mysore was hailed as a very progressive and beneficial measure. The nationalist Weekly from Bombay, *The Maharatta* went so far as to say that 'The British

16. Dewan's Address to Representative Assembly, 1891, p.4.
17. Dewan's Address to Representative Assembly, 1887, p.72.
18. Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, Ch. II, p.18.

Government might do well to take a lesson from the enlightened Maharaja of Mysore'.[19]

Progress of Work :

In the first ten years, the proceedings and the business of the Assembly have been much as to convince the most hostile critics of the capabilities of the representatives to take part in public affairs. The members of the Assembly have all along pressed their claims for a better standing than that of mere petitioning and for more substantial privileges than those of being invited to Dasara Durbar.

The progress of the Assembly was as much due to the earnest importunity of members as to the sympathetic desire of the Government to improve it. The representatives have not scrupled to give fearless expression to their views whenever the occasion demanded it. Whatever they have said, they have said generally for the public good. The Government have quite understood this spirit of the representatives and, on no occasion, has the cordiality of relations subsisting between them been disturbed.

The members raised in 1883 the question of famine debt of nearly a crore of Rupees due to the British Government and demanded the information concerning the arrangement made for its liquidation. The members wanted to know whether the Government had any idea of fresh taxation in the shape of a general land custom or general house tax. They were satisfied only when they were assured by the Dewan that a way had been devised to reduce the famine loan without imposing any new tax, on the people, and that the Government of India had very considerably consented to receive the loan in annual instalment of four lakhs.[20]

In the same year members impressed on the Government requesting that the proceedings of the Government in all the departments should be in Kanareese also. The Government considered this request as a reasonable one. After calling the representatives to counsel the State, it was both right as well as, expedient that their desire to keep themselves informed of the doings of the Government should be satisfied. Accordingly it was ruled that all proceedings of general interest and circulars in the nature of revenue rulings should be published for their information.

Members' Suggestions :

In the year 1884 the members demanded that the revenue code might be referred to them for their opinion before it was passed into

19. Ibid., p.19.
20. R.A. Proceedings—1883, p.4.

law. The members of the Assembly suggested that a meeting for the nomination of the members should be held one month before the Dasara, that the names of the representatives chosen together with the subjects to be discussed should be published in the Mysore Gazette. They sought permission for access to any government records that they needed for information before they attended the Assembly. The members suggested that the standing committee to be nominated to attend to all subjects and constitution of such Committee must comprise of one Officer and one representative of each district to expedite subjects without further postponement.. The members to acquaint themselves with the orders issued by the Government, wanted that all circulars issued by the Government should, as a rule, be previously discussed at the Dasara session of the Assembly. Although, in the existing state of things all the three suggestions made by the members were found not feasible in practice, the members succeeded in obtaining a promise from Dewan that the Orders of each year or any Orders of Government might be freely discussed during the Dasara session and that the Government would gladly receive their opinions and adopt any reasonable amendment or modification.

The members from Kadur district proposed that a proposition recommended by a majority of the representatives should be at once passed. The spirit behind this theory was appreciated by the Dewan. The members stoutly protested against the Arms Act particularly members from Malnad. In Malnad region the depredation of animals were very great and caused much hardship in the harvest season. In the season when the arms were most needed, the arms had to be surrendered to the police in Taluk Kacheri till the renewal of licence which involved considerable delay. The members made many suggestions to tone down the rigour of the Act. One such suggestions was that licence need not be renewed and that only fee must be collected annually and the renewal can be only once in ten years.

The other subject on which the members engaged the attention of the Government were the prohibition of Cow slaughter, starting of the industries, improvement of primary education, introduction of technical education, encouragement of female education, institution of vernacular education and the amelioration of the conditions of wandering tribes like Lambanies, Korachars and others. By these endeavours the representatives were credited with earnest work and the encomiums showered on the Representative Assembly were fully merited that they were far, very far, from part-taking of the nature of mere idle compliments.

The introduction of the principle of election was greatly appreciated by the people of Mysore. The Assembly elected under the rules of 1891 was brought into effect and on 15th October 1891 Dewan Seshadri Iyer communicated to the representatives the gratification of the Maharaja

for the exercise of voting privilege with so much judgement and sense of responsibility for sending to the Assembly men in everyway qualified to speak on their behalf and that men representing the capital, the industry and the intellect of the country should be so early taken so much interest in the scheme augured well for the future of the institution.

Demand for Reforms :

The Electoral Reforms of 1891 improved the constitution of the Assembly. In the place of nominated members elected representatives of the people sat in the Assembly. But this reform did not ensure full popular representation as the franchise was very limited and was not in proportion to the total population. As Dewan himself admitted 'That the constitution now given does not ensure what can be regarded as a full popular representation. This can only be effected by making the number of electors fairly proportionate to the total population. But there are numerous practical difficulties in the way of such reform which we are perforce compelled to leave for the future contending ourselves for the present with the cautious but highly desirable step we have now taken'.[21]

But, shortly after three years, in 1893 further reforms were demanded by the members of the Assembly. Various suggestions were put forward to improve the working of the Representative Assembly. Mr. Venkatakrishnaiah from Mysore proposed for the enlargement of the Maharaja's Executive Council so as to contain as many non-officials as there were official members and that these non-official members must be elected by the Representative Assembly and His Highness the Maharaja to preside over the Council just as Governors and Governor-General presided at the meetings of their respective Councils, thereby it would promote public interest and the importance of the Council enhanced. He made another suggestion to reduce the Mohatarfa qualification so as to enable a large number of persons to take interest in public affairs and members of the Assembly must be elected six months before the Dasara meeting which would enable them to ascertain the wants and wishes of their Constituencies. In the absence of a Legislative Council, the members wanted all the rules and regulations must be referred for discussion in the Assembly, and further he suggested that to prevent inconvenience in attendance and disappointment a programme of the proceedings of the Assembly should be drawn up and one day be allotted to each district for the local subjects belonging to that district. In his view, "the prohibition imposed on Government servants from voting for or being elected as members of the Assembly besides inflicting a disability on an important section

21. R.A. Proceedings—1880, p.20.

of the community had the effect of considerably reducing the number of competent voters in some local associations. Even if the Government servants were not allowed to be elected they should at least be allowed to vote in the election of members.' [22]

Equitable Distribution :

During the Dasara meeting of the Assembly in 1893 a promise was made by the Dewan to investigate the question of amendment required in the Constitution of the Assembly with a view to effect a more equitable distribution of seats among the various classes represented therein and to make it a more efficient exponent of the actual will of the general population of the country. It was found that under the existing system, the urban areas were more represented than the rural population. One hunderd and three Municipal towns with a population of less than a ninth of the entire population of the State were allowed to return through their respective Municipal Boards, as many as 115 members which approximated to nearly one-third of the total strength of the Assembly. Many of the Municipalities were not in a position either as trading centres or by the largeness of their population, to claim an urban character. As many as seventy eight minor Municipal Boards did not have good number of population. Most of the voters in these areas had the unfair advantage of dual voting *i.e.,* exercising the right of vote both in Municipal Board representation and talukwise representation.

The rural areas which comprised of the bulk of the population and property of the province, was intended to be placed upon an enlarged and more satisfactory basis. In 1881 the class of Taluk representatives who formed the most important section of the Assembly was entirely drawn from cultivating land holders but the representation was subsequently extended so as to include the industries of the rural parts as well and the qualifications for the franchise and for membership was laid down in regulation I of 1891. It was felt that while the property qualification for membership should not be lowered, the electoral bodies should be enlarged so as to comprise a larger portion of the agricultural property of the State. Thus it was found desirable to bring a change so as to give forty seats in the Assembly for the urban population of about three lakhs thirty thousand congregated in the twenty five towns and the rural parts which comprised of the bulk of the population and property of the State to be placed upon an enlarged and more satisfactory basis.

The rule prohibiting a government servant from voting for, or being elected as a member of the Assembly was to be applied to

22. R.A. Proceedings—1893, Subject No. 9, p.37.

Municipal and Local Boards and associations which deputed members to the Assembly.

Electoral Reforms :

Based on these propositions further reforms were introduced in 1894. After due deliberations the Government in a notification dated 10th June, 1894, issued rules regarding the constitution and conduct of the business of the Mysore Representative Assembly.[23]

The number of electors were enlarged by reducing the property qualification by 50%. Every person who paid on his own account annually, Government land revenue or Mohatarfa tax of not less than the amount specified in the schedule of the respective Taluk, was qualified to elect members of the Assembly. Persons who owned one or more Inam villages with a total Beriz of Rs. 250/- per annum and ordinarily residing in that Taluk was made eligible to vote.

Every Graduate of any Indian University whose ordinary place of residence was in that Taluk was enfranchised.

Persons qualified as above were invited once in three years to meet at the headquarters of their respective Taluks in the month of *Ashada* (June-July) or on a specified day, of which previous notice of not less than one month was given, elected members for the Taluk to attend the Representative Assembly at Mysore during the ensuing Dasara.

Qualifications :

As regards qualifications of the members of Representative Assembly, every person who paid on his own account annually government land revenue or Municipal Mohatarfa tax of not less than the amount specified in the schedule for the Taluk or Municipality or the owner of one or more entire Inam villages with a total annual Beriz of Rs. 500/- and who ordinarily resided in the Taluk were eligible to be elected as members. The total number of members elected for a Taluk was also prescribed under a schedule.

In addition to members elected from Taluks, each Local Fund Board deputed two of its members to the Assembly. The Municipal Boards of the towns with more than 5000 population deputed members ranging from one to four members as prescribed in the schedule. Further, special representation given to the cities of Bangalore and Mysore was discontinued.

Associations representing approved public interest were eligible to depute members provided that these associations contained at least one hundred members who were not Government servants and that seventy

23. R.A. Proceedings—1874, Appendix-G, p.187.

five of such members were present at the meeting held for the purpose of nominating members. The persons deputed under Rule-6 from the Municipalities, Local Fund Boards and Associations were members for a duration of one year only, and the deputation was made and duly notified before the end of *Sravana* of preceding meeting of the Assembly in each year.

Disqualification :

The regulations of 1894 prescribed certain disqualifications for the membership. No person who had not completed 18 years of age, no person who was of unsound mind or had been convicted of a criminal offence indicating a bad or immoral character and no dismissed government official was eligible to be returned as a member of the Assembly. As the object of the Assembly was to elicit non-official public opinion, no Government servant should vote for or be returned as a member of the Assembly, but Shanubog, Patel or other hereditary officers were excluded from the category of 'Government servants' for the purpose of elections.

Procedure for Memoranda :

The elected members from each Taluk met and prepared a memorandum describing seriatum their representation and suggestions on the subjects which they desired to bring forward for the discussion at the next meeting of the Assembly at Mysore. Such memorandum was sent by them direct to the Deputy Commissioner of their district so as to reach him not later than the end of the month *Sravana* (July-August) preceding the meeting of the Assembly.

The members deputed by the Municipalities and Local Boards and Associations forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner similar memoranda of the subjects which were expected to be brought forward for discussion at the next meeting of the Assembly at Mysore, together with a list of members deputed to the Assembly.

The memoranda submitted by the members were carefully compiled by the Deputy Commissioner's Office and forwarded to the Chief Secretary with Deputy Commissioner's remarks on each proposition so as to reach the Secretariat not later than the middle of the month of *Bhadrapada*. The members of each district held a formal meeting at Mysore before the 10th of *Shuddha of Asweeja* and it decided at that meeting the subjects to be brought forward at the Assembly. Any subject not mentioned in the memoranda submitted, a supplement of such additional subjects should be sent to the Chief Secretary before the evening of 11th *Shuddha of Asweeja*. Ordinarily the Assembly commenced its meeting at Mysore on the 13th of *Shuddha of Asweeja* and if that day is Sunday, then, on the following Monday.

Voting Right Expanded :

Under the rules of 1894 the voting right was extended to 7192 persons. Out of them 4111 became eligible to vote only, and 3081 were eligible to vote as well as to be elected to the Assembly and out of them two were graduates who were from Shimoga.

Occupationwise, the break up of the voters was 690 were Merchants, one was a Jeweller, 32 were Money lenders, 6356 were land holders and remaining 113 belonged to other occupations. A major change in the distribution of seats was forty seats were allotted in the Assembly for the urban population of nearly 3½ lakhs congregated in the 25 towns and, the rural parts which comprised of the bulk of the population and property of the State was given an enlarged and more satisfactory number of representation.

Distribution of Seats :

Under these rules the maximum number of seats and their distribution constituencywise were as follows : [24]

1.	Elected members for 66 Taluks as per schedule.	213
2.	Members deputed by 8 Municipalities at District Headquarters.	23
3.	Members deputed by 17 other Municipalities each with a population of more than 5000 and more.	17
4.	Members deputed by the 9 Local Fund Boards.	18
5.	Members deputed by Associations representing public interests.	6
	Total	277

Under the new rules the system of annual election was replaced by one of triennial election which the members of the Assembly had been urging the Government for affording the members an opportunity for continuous action from year to year which would not only enhance the interest of the members in subjects brought forward by them and would add largely to further practical usefulness of the Assembly. Thus the term of office of the members returned from Taluk Electorate was fixed at three years, but the duration of those deputed by the Municipalities and Public Associations was retained as usual, one year, and this continued till 1920.

Assembly Reconstituted :

Immediately after the notification of the new regulations the preparation for the elections were made and the Assembly was reconstituted. The total number elected to the new Assembly was 276.

24. R.A. Proceedings—Oct. 1894, p.191.

Of them, four represented nine Constituencies so as to make the actual number 271. Of these members 7 were Europeans, 15 were Mahamedens, 249 were Hindus, and occupationwise—38 were Merchants, 5 Sahukars, 198 were land holders, and thirty belonged to other occupations. The new Assembly met at noon on 12th October, 1894 under the Presidentship of Dewan Sir K. Seshadri Iyer. T. R. A. Thamboo Chettier and P. Chentsal Row Panthulu, members of the Executive Council, and the Judges of the Chief Court and other Principle Officers of the State were present. The Dewan's address was heard with keen interest and particularly the allusion to the Infant Marriage Prohibition Regulation were received with manifestations of cordial approval. At the end of the meeting, Mr. Graham Anderson, deputed member of the South Mysore European Planters Association spoke in appreciation of the administration of the Government. At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Ananda Alwar representing Mandya Taluk read an address in Sanskrit and Mr. Hafizulla Khan, member representing Bangalore City Municipality read an address in Hindusthani. The Assembly session continued upto 18th October, discussing the subjects ranging from planters problems, Gold mining to local matters like grain storage for famine relief.

Regency Administration :

At the closing of the year 1894, Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar was on North India tour along with the members of Royal family. While he was at Calcutta he died of Diptheria on 28th December 1894, when he was in his prime of life. On 29th the Viceroy Lord Elgin recognised the eldest son, Prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar as successor to the throne of Mysore, and till the form of administration was settled under Article 3 of Instrument of Transfer, Dewan Seshadri Iyer was asked to carry on the administration with the advice of British Resident and with the consultation of the Maharani. Since Young Prince Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar was only ten years old, Maharani Kempananjammanni Avaru was appointed as Regent to carry on the administration during the minority of her son. Maharani rose to the occasion and filled the gap caused by the untimely demise of her illustrious husband. To assist her in the administration of the State an Executive Council of three whole time members, comprising of T. R. A. Thamboo Chettier, P. N. Krishna Murthi, who was the Judge of the Chief Court and Abdul Rahaman who was Deputy Commissioner, was formed under the Chairmanship of Dewan K. Seshadri Iyer.

Dewan in Council :

From this time onwards Dewan in Council became the nuclious of the Executive which effectively functioned in the administrative matters.

The Government of India recognised the need for a strong Council for the efficient administration. The rules of business of the reconstituted Council were accordingly revised. Dewan in Council distributed the work of the Government by departments between himself and the three Councillors. The members in-charge of a department was competent to dispose of all ordinary work of that department and to issue orders in the name of the Government. Only doubtful and delicate matters were referred to the Dewan and it was within the powers of the Dewan to determine whether final orders could be issued or not without reference to the Council as a whole. Dewan could refer any matter to the Council at any time. The decision of the Dewan in Council were carried into effect. But whenever there was difference of opinion between the Dewan and the majority of the Council members, Dewan would refer the matter to the Regent for her orders. All those matters which were marked for the Government of India had to be referred to the Resident. Dewan had the power to call for any matter which was entrusted to a member of the Council for reconsideration of the Council.

Memorial to Gordon :

In 1895 on the eve of the commencement of the Assembly proceedings, M. Macckworth Young, the British Resident at Mysore on the desire of Her Highness the Maharani regent unveiled the Statue of Sir James Gordon. The Statue was seen and approved by the Late Maharaja as a suitable memorial to his friend and tutor. Sir James Gordon came to India and was attached to the Bengal Presidency as a civilian and after holding many posts there in various positions both in the Secretariat of the Bengal Government and of the Government of India, he was appointed by the G. G. Lord Lawrence to be his Private Secretary. When the Maharaja was still young during the Commissioner Rule, Viceroy deputed his trusted friend Gordon to be the Guardian of the Young Maharaja. It was in that capacity that Sir James Gordon endeared himself to the Late Maharaja. J. Gordon, as tutor, had tremendous influence on the Maharaja to mould his personality. He was a judicial Commissioner and then Chief Commissioner of Mysore. In that capacity he was also guardian of the Young Prince prior to rendition. After Rendition Gordon became the Resident and performed his duties as Counsellor, friend and adviser to the Maharaja. It was he who suggested for the establishment of a deliberative body and by his encouragement the Maharaja was able to bring into existence the Assembly of Representative Ryots and Merchants. Even today the area around the District Offices and the University in Mysore is called Gordon Park.

Chamarajendra Statue :

During the Assembly session of 1895, the members proposed the erection of suitable memorial to the late Maharaja Chamarajendra

Wadiyar for perpetuating his memory.[25] Accordingly a beautiful equesterian marble Statue was prepared for unveiling in the capital of the State. In 1901, when Lord Curzon, Viceroy visited Mysore to witness the magnificient sight at Jogfalls, drove upto Mysore and unveiled the Statue. The park around the Statue at Mysore was named after Lord Curzon to commemorate his visit to Mysore.

Suggestions for Improvement :

During the same session the members suggested to frame rules for filling up temporary vacancies in the Assembly. Mr. A. Ramanna of Mysore proposed two meeting of the Assembly every year instead of only one. He further demanded for the constitution of a standing committee of the Representative Assembly to fecilitate members who have scattered throughout the State to be in touch with day to day developments.

Mr. Venkata Krishnaiah wanted the Government to concede to the members of the Assembly the right of interpellation, that is, the right to ask the Government for information in regard to the matters of public interest and to the action and policy of the Government in such matters. On this issue the Government agreed to afford every reasonable opportunity to make themselves acquainted with matters of public interest. [26]

Mr. M. L. Narasimha Iyengar representing the Mysore Municipal Board wanted the existing name "Assembly of Representative Ryots and Merchants from all the Taluks of the State of Mysore", to be changed into 'Representative Assembly of Mysore' as suitable name. At that stage it was considered by the Government inexpedient as such a change might be misunderstood as meaning an alteration of the original constitution and functions of the Assembly. [27]

At the conclusion of the proceedings of the Assembly when the triennial term of the Assembly was coming to close in 1896, Mr. Ranga Iyengar of Heggadadevanakote pointed out that among the members elected, there were several who absented themselves from the meetings of the Assembly and that the rules in force did not provide a remedy for the evil. He urged that due notice should be taken of such absentees, as it was highly necesasry that the electors should always have the benefit of the services of their members. [28]

In the elections held in 1897 to the Assembly, two hundred seventy five members were returned to the house. Among them five were

25. R.A. Proceedings—1895, p.35.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.—1895, Sub. No. 2 (c), p.35.
28. Ibid.—1896, p.2.

Europeans, eighteen were Mahamedans and two hundred and fifty two were Hindus. Occpationwise—30 were Merchants, 2 were Bankers, 214 were land lords and 29 belonged to the other professions.[29]

The members coming from far off places to attend the Representative Assembly sessions pleaded for the removal of inconveniences felt by them owing to lack of suitable accommodation and suggested that Nanjaraj Bahadur Choultry and other similar buildings being made available to the members during the session. Some members wanted the Government to direct the Deputy Commissioners to furnish members with such references as they may apply for. Important legislative measures discussed at this session were the amendment of Infant Marriage Prevention Regulation which sought to cover the marriages performed outside the State by the natives of Mysore State. The protection of wild animals from indiscriminate destruction, rules relating to the property of minors, introduction of Gambling Act and Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

Palace Fire :

The members expressed their anxiety over the sad incident of the year, the Palace fire. It occurred immediately after the festivities connected with the marriage of first Princess Jayalakshammanni. In this fire one-fifth of the old Palace was completely destroyed including the sajje or front portion, and the three storeys rising above it to the gold Kalasa, the Sanskrit Library, the Armoury, the Music room, the Balkana and the wood work was destroyed, leaving the walls, roof, stone and iron frame-work, standing. Eight persons lost their lives. Her Highness Maharani Regent while deeply regreting the death of these persons, awarded their families liberal money and pensions. To investigate the cause of the outbreak of the fire and the circumstances attending it, a Committee consisting of Mr. P. N. Krishna Murthy, a member of the Council, Colonel Bowen, Chief Engineer, Mr. Frazer, Tutor and Governor to His Highness the Maharaja and Mr. Dalvoy Devaraj Urs, was appointed. The Committee made a careful enquiry and arrived at the conclusion that the marriage pendal was accidentally caught fire from above by the negligence of a maid servant.[30] Immediately a suitable design for the reconstruction of the portion of the Palace destroyed, was prepared by a well-known architect, Mr. Henry Irwin, Consultant Architect to the Government of Madras. This design while following the outline of the old building was in many ways an improvement over it and in the construction it was intended to provide for immunity from future accident of similar kind.

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29. Ibid.—1897, p.49.
30. Address of Dewan —8-10-1897, p.18.

Epidamic Diseases Regulations :

In the year 1898, the annual meeting of the Assembly had to be suspended for the first time since its inception, owing to the prevalance of the plague in certain parts of the State. In the absence of the meeting of the Assembly, Deputy Commissioners of the districts were directed to hold meetings of the local members of the Assembly at various district headquarters on the first of December 1898. At these meetings a copy of Dewan's address was to be read and the subjects brought forward by the members were to be discussed and a report of the proceedings had to be submitted for orders of the Government. But unfortunately the plague had spread in several parts of the State and it became undesirable to hold any large gatherings of the people at district headquarters, or to interfere in any way with urgent and important work devolving on District Officers in connection with the operation against the plague. Thus the Government dispensed with even local meetings and preferred to communicate members of the Assembly a short account of the administration during the year 1897-98. The Government geared up all its machinery to combat the dreadful disease and arm itself with extensive powers, passed the Epidamic Diseases Regulations. Under this regulation, rules were made from time to time to meet the special exigencies of the situation and directed various precautionary measures such as establishment of railway and frontier Stations and out-posts, examination of passengers by railway and road, the detention, observation, or escorting such persons as arrived from infected areas or suspected of carrying infection, the establishment of temporary plague hospitals and segregation and health camps at centres most likely to become infected. For the prompt and effective administration of these measures a special Officer under the designation Plague Commissioner was appointed.[31] In spite of these precautions the dreadful disease had succeeded in finding its way into Bangalore and thence to other parts of the State. It was estimated that there were 14831 attacks and 12773 deaths from the plague in all parts of the State. Out of these, Bangalore alone had 3,346 attacks and 2665 deaths and the Mysore city had 2667 attacks and 2171 deaths. To ensure against future occurance, a large number of houses condemned as unfit for habitation were demolished in Bangalore city. Two large new extensions covering an area of 1000 acres and capable of providing accommodation for fifty thousand persons were laid out in Bangalore city. This was to ensure public health, sanitation and cleanliness.

Munificient Measures :

The various useful measures introduced during the regency of Maharani Kempananjammanni were the establishment of a department

31. An account of the Administration of the Mysore State during 1897–98, p.239.

of Geology with Robert Bruce Foote, retired Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India in charge of it, and mining regulations were passed and rules were framed on the lines of those in force in England. Gold mining industry was expanded and the royalty during the regency amounted to ninty one lakhs of rupees. In 1898-99 an agriculture department was established in order to improve the method of cultivation. The name of the Maharani's Girls School was altered to that of Maharani's College in 1901. A liberal grants and a large extent of land were offered for the location of The Indian Institute of Science proposed to be established by J. N. Tata in Bangalore city. Another interesting event of this period was the constitution of a special tribunal to settle the claims of Brijlal Das for money due to him from Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III. When the tribunal awarded a sum of rupees 5,67,338/- there were no legal heirs to the deceased creditor. The Maharani Regent decided to allot the amount for charitable purposes under the name of Damodara Das charities, and the entire amount was invested in the Government, 3½% securities and the four-fifth of the income from the investment was to be devoted to the grant of scholarships for the studies and researches of an advanced Scientific and Technical character. The remaining one-fifth of the annual income was allotted for granting scholarships to the members of Gujarathi community to which Damodara Das belonged.

Members of the Assembly endeavoured from time to time to obtain the system of judging strength of opinion in particular by counting of votes. This matter was discussed at length at various stages. Dewan considered it unnecessary as the Assembly had no voice in the disposal of the questions which might be represented by it. The request was repeated in the subsequent years in regard to legislative measure. Sri N. Srikantiya wanted for eliciting the opinions of the R. A. members draft regulations should be placed before the Assembly for discussion or there should be a Legislative Council as in Travancore. Non-official opinion should be taken in all cases. [32]

Training to the Prince :

In the meanwhile the young Prince Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV was given appropriate education and good administrative training so as to enable him to assume the responsibilities of administering the State. Colonel S. M. Frazer who was appointed as tutor and guardian to the young Maharaja made sustained effort to equip the Prince for the duties of his exalted office. In addition to study of history, jurisprudence, administration, theory and practice of Government, extensive tours in every part of the State were conducted to gain first hand knowledge of the men and affairs of the State which he was to

32. R.A. Proceedings, 1901, Sub. No. 85, p.50.

govern. During this training he visited Taluk and other offices to examine the accounts and papers of the village officials and even acquainted with the practical working of the machinery of administration at the districts. To make himself familiar with the legal procedure, he attended the Law Courts and sat upon the Bench with the presiding Judges and Magistrates. Occasionally, he attended the meetings of the State Council and followed the discussions with intelligent appreciation.[33]

Curzon's Advice :

Prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV attained the age of eighteen years in the year 1902 and was considered both by his education and administrative training competent to assume the responsibilities of ruling the State. On 8th August, 1902, Prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar was installed by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon with full powers to rule over the State. Addressing the gathering at the installation ceremony Lord Curzon stated "Rulers are not made virtuous by installation homilies but by the instincts of their nature, by a diligent training and by a willingness to profit by the wisdom and experience of others. A young man of eighteen who becomes a ruler not only enjoys one of the noblest opportunities, but also bears one of the greatest responsibilities in the world. Upon you to a large extent will depend the happiness and comfort of several millions of your fellow creatures, who already look up to you with reverance, who if you rule well, regard you with devotion, but if you rule badly, with indifference and despair. You are put in this place not for your own sake ; to think that is the greatest of all human errors, but for theirs. If you act consentiously and dutifully, you may leave a name that will leave for generations in the memory of your people. If you throw away your charges and become a sluggard or worse, your name will be written in water and your memory will pass like a puff of smoke from the minds of the men. Therefore, I beg of you at this turning point in your life to remember these things. Put your heart into your work. Be just. Be courageous. Be merciful to the lowly. Be considerate to all. Work as though you are going to live not for Ninety years but for Five ; for duty, believe me, cannot afford to loiter and there ought to be no blank spaces in a Ruler's diary."

33. Shama Rao, op. cit., p.107.

Jagan Mohan Palace venue of the First Session of the Representative Assembly

Chapter III

The Beginnings of the Legislative Council

With the assumption of direct administration of the state by Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV, a new scheme of administration and a new form of representative institution came into existance. Whatever might have been the intentions of the original framers of the Mysore constitution in 1881, the position of the affairs, as stated by Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, was that the Minister was responsible to the Maharaja for the executive administration of the country, that the Minister and the Councillors were jointly responsible to the Maharaja, for the advice they tendered in regard to the general measures of administration specified in the rules and that the Councillors were responsible to the Dewan and the latter to the Maharaja for the proper discharge of the administrative duties delegated by the Dewan to the Councillors.[1] In 1895, when the Regency administration was created, it was felt that the Council had failed as a corporate body to assume that position in the administration, when it was intended to occupy and deemed it expedient that it should take an active and not a mere nominal share in the business of the State. To make the Council a real executive body, three full time Councillors with defined responsibilities were appointed and they were enjoined to share with the Dewan, at their head, the executive administration of the State. The Regency Council was in operation for a period of eight years and during which time the Council functioned more or less as an executive body. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, felt that an undue share of authority had passed into the hands of the Dewan during the period of regency. Since the Maharaja was solely responsible for maintaining amicable relations with that power and for the efficient administration of his State, the Maharaja ought to be the actual ruler of his people and master in the State.

Consultative Council :

With the end of regency, the Executive Council was reverted to its old character of being a consultative Council. It was called the Council

1. Mysore Representative Assembly Proceedings, 1903, p.82.

of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, comprising the Dewan and two other Councillors whose duty was to advice His Highness in all important matters. The Dewan was the ex-officio President of the Council. He was the Chief Minister of the Maharaja in the administration of the State. Rules were also framed for the conduct of the business in the Consultative Council.* The main purpose of this device was to preserve the efficiency of the Council and enlist the active interest and co-operation of the Councillors in all measures of Government consistent with the position of His Highness as sole deciding authority in all matters of importance. The Dewan was responsible to the Maharaja for the efficient conduct of the administration in its various branches, and he was the channel of communication with His Highness on all matters of State business. At the same time, he ensured the continuity of knowledge and interest in the working of the various departments of the State. The Councillors held charge of certain departments with power to record their opinions on all matters relating to those departments coming up before the Government. This charge entailed great share of work by the Maharaja embracing all important cases in every branch of the administration of considerable variety and range.

A Valuable Adjunct :

Sir K. Seshadri Iyer having retired in March, 1901, Sir P. N. Krishna Murthy, grandson of Purniya and a member of State Council was appointed Dewan and continued as Dewan under Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar in the new scheme with V. P. Madhava Rao and Sri C. Srinivasa Iyengar as Councillors. The Representative Assembly, which could not meet in the year 1902 owing to widespread prevalence of Plague in the State met on 5th October, 1903. Addressing the opening session of the Assembly, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar stated, "I am glad to find, speak highly of the moderation, the intelligence, and the practical good sense, that have characterised your discussions in the past, and one of the conspicuous of this Assembly has been the consolidation of the sense of common interest between the Government and the people. If the deliberations of this Assembly succeed in providing a ready means whereby my people can make their requirements, aspirations and grievances known, and in affording my government an opportunity for stating what has been accomplished during the past year and what is intended next; and further, if these meetings enable us to understand each other better, and thereby remove all possible grounds for misconception regarding the measures of government, then I entertain no doubt that this yearly gathering will prove a valuable adjunct to the administration and will thereby promote the contentment and well-being of my subjects which are so dear to my heart. As long

*Notification No. 36, Mysore Administration Report, 1902-3, p.4-5.

as this institution fulfils these aims and objects, you may rest assured it will receive my hearty support and encouragement. I trust the membership of this Assembly, which I understand has already come to be regarded as a privilege, will, by your moderation, and wise counsel, receive enhanced value at your hands and the hands of your successors in the years to come."[2]

Measures Approved :

The measures of legislation passed during this year were the Weights and Measures Regulation, law amending Excise Regulation, amendment to the law of Evidence and Registration Regulations. The revision of Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes and Whipping Act embodying all the improvement contained in the British Codes which were applicable to Mysore. An amendment to the Mysore Chief Courts Regulation was also prepared for the consideration of the Assembly. The rules under Local Board Regulation underwent a thorough revision providing for the Constitution of Unions in the place of the non-regulation Municipalities, the establishment of District Board for each revenue district, a Taluk Board for each taluk and sub-taluk and a Panchayat for each Union, with defined powers and duties.

Memorialists Pray :

In 1904, Mr. M. Venkatakrishnaiah forcefully pleaded in the Representative Assembly for the establishment of a Legislative Council in the following terms. "There are Legislative Councils in the British Provinces and there is one in Travancore. In Mysore we have the Representative Assembly, but it holds its session only annually for a few days. On the other hand, the Legislative Council will meet more often and the members of the Representative Assembly who may be in the Council will thus have frequent opportunities of representing the wants of the people. The subject was brought forward in 1892 by Mr. Srinivasa Rao, but while replying to that there was no need for one, the late Dewan at the same time suggested for formation of a standing Committee. As remarked by Sri Rangacharlu, political education can only be gradual. If we are to wait until all the people are educated to the requisite standard, we may have to wait for ever. If a Legislative Council cannot be immediately established it is desirable that at least a standing Committee should be recognised."[3] At the opening session of the Representative Assembly in 1905, Mr. M. C. Ranga Iyengar and others submitted a memorandum to Sir P. N. Krishnamurthy, Dewan, pleading that in this progressive State with the advance of learning and development of industries new interest are coming into

2. Speeches by Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, p.14.
3. R.A. Proceedings, 1904, Sub. No. 1, p.1.

existence and demand special legislation. The legislative branch of the Government, important as generally is in the special circumstances of this State, has now become a matter of paramount importance. The establishment of a Legislative Council will secure to the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja, the advantages which are being enjoyed by their neighbours in the British territories. Memorialists prayed that "a Legislative Council may be graciously established and that permission may be vouchsafed to the Representative Assembly to elect at least eight members and submit their names for the approval of His Highness the Maharaja."[4]

Representing the Law Association, Bangalore, Mr. J. C. S. Lawrence suggested for introduction of the Hindu Wills Act, the Probate and Administration Act, the Negotiable Instrument Act, certain portions of the Transfer of Property Act, and Guardian and Ward Act. The members also asked for the introduction of the Gambling Act with a view to prevent the evil effects of gambling by which many persons were being ruined.[5] One member wanted a regulation to prohibit slaughtering cows and bullocks for beef and hides. Another important subject discussed in the Assembly and passed into law was the Co-operative Societies Regulation, having the objects the promotion of thrift and providence among the members; the attraction of the capital and grant of credit to the members; supply to them raw materials, seeds or manure, the sale of agricultural produce or of manufactured goods and other objects for which co-operatives can be formed.

In March of 1906, Sir P. N. Krishnamurthy laid down the office of Dewan and he was succeeded by Sri V. P. Madhava Rao who was till then, Dewan of Travancore. Earlier when Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao was in Mysore service had taken interest and watched the growth, development and progress of the Representative Assembly. Addressing the Assembly he stated, "Representative Assembly has now become a time honoured and a historic institution, flourishing in its full vitality here, affording a model for other native States to fashion their own popular Assemblies."[6]

Rise in Status :

Another useful change introduced in 1906 was the rise in the status of the State Councillors. The modified rules of 1906 invested the Councillors with certain measure of administrative responsibility, the lack of which had been felt to the main reason when the new Consultative Council of 1902 had failed to fulfil the objects with which it was constituted. The Councillors were empowered in their respective

4. R.A. Proceedings, 1904, Sub. No. 1, p.1.
5. Ibid., 1905, App. p.160.
6. Dewan's Address to R.A., 1906, p.385.

departments to pass final orders in the name of the Government, instead of merely recording their opinion, on all ordinary matters which were not sufficient importance to require references to the Dewan and to the Council, as a body.[7] And also the Office of the Revenue Commissioner which was constituted in the year 1902 to exercise effective supervision and control over the revenue administration had shown certain weakness owing to the reservation to the Government of certain powers which should have been assigned to the Revenue Commissioner. For instance, Revenue Commissioner had no jurisdiction in matters relating to the collection of revenue and proceedings taken for its recovery, and also control over certain class of revenue officials. To remove these defects, the land revenue code was amended so as to make the Revenue Commissioner the Chief Controlling Revenue Authority subject, of course, to Government, and making his position correspond to that of a Commissioner in Bombay. In addition, amendment to Military Regulations, Merchandise Marks Regulation, Excise and Civil Procedure Regulations were passed. Rules under Co-operative Societies Regulation and under Arms Regulations were also issued. For securing greater efficiency in administration, the revival of competitive examination for civil service, rules for selection of men for appointment as Amildars and Deputy Amildars, modification in the rules relating to the recruitment of Shekdars and Revenue Inspectors, and revised rules for regulating the appointment and promotion of ministerial officers in the Revenue Department, were adopted.

Plea for Legislative Council :

The establishment of Legislative Council which formally came into existence on 22nd June, 1907, was a measure of considerable importance on the development of Legislative body in Mysore. If the policy of associating the people with the administration of the State was manifested in the Representative Assembly, it was with an objective to associate with the Government a certain number of non-official gentlemen qualified by practical experience and knowledge of local conditions and requirements to assist government in making laws and regulations, the Legislative Council was established. In the past, on many occasions, members of the Representative Assembly pressed for the establishment of a Legislative Council. The members said that the interest of the public would be better served by associating a certain number of non-officials in the process of law making and urged for allowing the Representative Assembly to elect one or two members to the Council of His Highness the Maharaja. [8]

7. Ibid.
8. R.A. Proceedings, 1890, Sub. No. 8, p. 38.

Dewan's Response :

But, at that time, a separate council for law making was considered unnecessary as all changes in the laws which were in force at the time of rendition could only be made in consultation with the Government of India and that too, after their approval. According to the Instrument of Transfer, the Maharaja was not permitted to repeal or modify such laws or pass any laws or rules.[9] Replying to the members of the Representative Assembly, Dewan Sir K. Seshadri Iyer said, "Non-official members will doubtless be very useful in a Legislative Council; but the legislative work which now remains to be done is so little, and what laws we pass are so much on the lines of British Indian legislation with such modification only as are called for by the local circumstances that it may be somewhat ostantatious to constitute a regular council for Mysore."[10] However, he accepted, the fact that such a proposal was an encouraging sign and he promised to place the matter before His Highness the Maharaja who would be glad to hear of this additional proof of the growing interest the members took in public affairs.

Again in 1894, members pleaded for a Legislative Council on the lines of a Legislative Council which was functioning in the State of Travancore.[11]

Mr. M. Venkatakrishnaiah, a veteran member of the Assembly observed that the necessity for a Council of some kind had been recognised at the time of rendition and the existing Council of the Maharaja was then formed. It was a Legislative Council as then constituted, but it had since become an Executive Council in its functions and was also difficient in the number originally fixed.[12] A Legislative Chamber would be useful advisors of Government, more useful than Secretaries and Heads of Departments who did not move much among the people and were not in close touch with them. A member even went to the extent of suggesting for the constitution of a Legislative Assembly, and remarked that in such an Assembly all regulations could be discussed and adopted to the requirements of the various classes of the Community. Dewan appreciating the suggestion stated that "When the necessity arises for constituting a Legislative Council we will, of course, form one and in doing so take into consideration the various suggestions which have been made to-day. The Planters have been asking for certain legislative measures and have not yet got them, not because the Durbar are unwilling or there is not a Planter on His Highness Council, the measure they want have to emanate from the British Legislature."[13]

9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 1890, p.33 and 34.
12. Ibid., 1894, p.35.
13. R.A. Proceedings, 1894, Reply to Sub. No. 1, p.35.

Under the instrument of transfer all the laws that were in force and rules having the force of law were to be maintained and efficiently administered. No change in the laws were allowed except with the permission of the Governor-General, subject to the control of the paramount power, His Highness the Maharaja was considered to be the source of all law in the State. The elaboration of all legislative measures was entrusted to the Executive Council.[14] Thus hither to, legislation was entirely in the hands of the Government who in their discretion consulted the Representative Assembly on such measures as were considered by them to be of sufficient importance to be placed before the Assembly for its views. However, the Government were not bound to consult the Assembly on all measures of legislation, much less to accept and act in conformity with its decision. It is interesting to note that there was not even a legislative section in the Secretariat till 1886. For the first time a Legislative Department was organised in 1886 as separate section under the Superintendence of an Officer designated 'Legislative Secretary' and later it became a branch of the Secretariat. The elaboration of all legislative measures was a part of the duties of the Executive Council which promulgated such measures as were required by it with the sanction of the Maharaja.

The Request Reiterated:

In the year 1905, Mr. M. C. Rangaiyengar and others submitted a memorandum to Dewan P. N. Krishna Murthy that in this progressive State with advance of learning and development of industries new interests are coming into existence which demand special legislation. The establishment of a Legislative Council will secure the advantages which are being enjoyed by their neighbours in the British territories and in the native States of Travancore and Hyderabad similar councils have been established. We are fully convinced that under the benign rule of His Highness the Maharaja, this model State will in no respect be allowed to lag behind the other native States in a matter so useful and necessary as the formation of a Legislative Council on a sound and practical basis. They wanted that Representative Assembly to elect at least eight members to the Council from its composition.[15]

The subject of creating a Council was brought forward again in 1906 and it was urged by the members of the Assembly that the powers and functions to be vested in the Council should be such as not to interfere with the utility and importance of the Representative Assembly. As time passed the requirement of a progressive administration necessitated the enactment of new laws and modifications to the existing ones from time to time. In the meanwhile, with the spread of education there

14. Instrument of Transfer, Art. 19.
15. R.A. Proceedings, 1905, App. D, p.160.

had come into being a fairly large body of educated and intelligent men from whom a sufficient number of people fit to take a useful part in the discussions of legislative measures might be as non-official members to serve in a Legislative Council. No doubt, all these years legislative measures had received full consideration and attention at the hands of successive Dewans and Councillors. It was felt the character and the composition of the Council, the smallness of its members and the want of publicity in its proceedings did not permit of legislative measures being considered as fully and from as many points of view as was desirable.

Legislative Council Act, 1907 :

Under these circumstances, it was considered expedient by His Highness the Maharaja to establish a Legislative Council in order to associate a certain number of non-official gentlemen qualified by practical experience and knowledge of local conditions and requirements in the actual process of law making. With this object in view the Legislative Council Act of 1907 was promulgated on 6th March, 1907, for the constitution of a regular Legislative Council for the making of the laws and regulations for Mysore.[16] When the proposal was referred to the Government of India, it was looked upon with a 'qualified enthusiasm', and while they saw no sufficient reason for advising His Highness to desist from the proposed experiment, they expressed the opinion that 'No special necessity existed for it in Mysore'. However, in conveying their approval to the proposal, the Government of India made it clear that'whatever the legislative machinery employed, the ultimate responsibility for all legislation in Mysore remained absolutely with His Highness the Maharaja and that the control over such legislation vested in the Governor-General in Council by the Instrument of Transfer of 1881 was unimpaired'. To safeguard the existing system of control by the Government of India over the legislation in Mysore the Government Order, promulgating the Act, made it clear that the Introduction of Legislative Council was not "intended in any way to affect or diminish the responsibility which in legislation as in all matters connected with the administration, rested ultimately with His Highness himself." But that it was intended "solely to enable him and his government to ascertain correctly the needs, wishes and feelings of the people and to ensure that the laws enacted by him as the ruler of the State were in all cases well adopted to serve the ends in view." [17]

16. The Mysore Gazette, 21-3-1907, p.30.
17. Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, 1939, Chapter-II, p.22.

Composition :

The Mysore Legislative Council like the Council in British India began to function as a nominated body. According to Regulation I of 1907, passed on March 1907, the Legislative Council was to consist of the Dewan as President and the members of the Council as ex-officio members and not less than ten, and not more than 15 additional members, nominated by the Government for a period of two years, of whom not less than 2/5 were to be non-officials and their term of office was fixed at two years. The Government retained the power to frame rules as to the conditions under which all or any of the non-official members might be selected prior to nomination by the Government. The business to be transacted at its meetings was confined to the consideration and passing of the measures which in practice were introduced by the Government. The previous sanction of the Dewan was made a condition for the introduction of any measure in the Council. The enactment of every measure required the assent of the Maharaja. Power was also reserved to the Government to frame temporary emergent measures for a period of six months, as also permanent measures affecting matters specially excluded from the purview of the Council and submit them to the assent of the Maharaja.[18]

Objectives :

The Legislative Council was formally inaugurated on 22nd June, 1907. The main objects for which the Council was established as stated by the Dewan were : (i) to enable the people to place their wants and wishes before the Government through members qualified to represent them ;

(ii) To give to legislative measures the benefit of personal discussion by a large number of competent persons, both official and non-official than is possible under the ordinary Executive Council of three members and from more varied stand points ;

(iii) To obtain the assistance from the gentlemen qualified by practical experience and knowledge of the people, to give advice in making laws and regulations ;

(iv) To fecilitate and ensure the consideration of details of every measure by requiring the reference to and examination by a Select Committee ;

(v) More than all, to provide that degree of publicity which is necessary to ensure the free and independent discussion of legislative measures from all point of view.[19]

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18. Ibid., p.23.
19. Abstract Proceedings of L.C., July 1927, p.2.

Functions :

The functions of the Council were strictly limited to the consideration of measures which were brought before the Council for enactment. It was expressly forbidden to entertain any motion other than a motion to leave to introduce a bill or having reference to a bill actually introduced. The members had no powers of asking questions or of calling for papers or of receiving and discussing petitions. Even in matters of legislation their powers were circumscribed. Some subjects were kept completely outside the jurisdiction of the Council. They were :

(a) Matters concerning the Royal family of Mysore ;
(b) Extradition of criminals ;
(c) Matters governed by treaties ;
(d) European vagrants ;
(e) European British subjects ;
(f) Post Offices, Telegraphs and Railways ;
(g) Mysore Military Forces ;
(h) The relation of His Highness the Maharaja with the paramount power and with foreign Princes or States ; or matters governed by treaties, conventions or agreements then in force ; or thereafter to be made by His Highness with paramount power ; or
(i) Such other matters as might from time to time be reserved by His Highness the Maharaja for consideration of the Government.[20]

By all these measures the Legislative Council was more a mouthpiece of the Government than a real house of legislature. The description given about the Councils in British India in early stages by Lord Macdonnel was equally applicable to the Council thus constituted in Mysore. "It was a Committee for the purpose of making laws, a Committee by means of which the Executive Government obtained advice and assistance in their legislation, and the public desired the advantage of full publicity being ensured at every stage of law making process..... The Council was not a deliberative body with respect to any subject but that of the immediate legislation before it. It could not enquire into grievances, call for information or examine the conduct of the Executive. The acts of administration could not be impugned nor could they be properly defended in such assembly, except with reference to the particular measure under discussion.[21]

First Meeting :

The first meeting of the newly formed Legislative Council with five non-officials and five officials besides two members of the Executive

20. Legislative Council Act, 1907, Chapter-XII, Sec. 2.
21. Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, Ch. I, p.24.

Council, was held on 24th July, 1907 under the Presidentship of Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao. Welcoming the members of the newly formed Council, the Dewan stated "We are today on the threshold of our important constitutional experiment, the second of its kind that has been undertaken in the State since the rendition. The inauguration of the Representative Assembly, more than a quarter century ago, has been fully justified by the useful work it has done in its own sphere, whereby it has secured a definite place in the scheme of the Government. We are now, for the second time, broadening the basis of administration by inviting the co-operation of a number of official and non-official gentlemen in discharge of one of the most important functions of the government, *viz.*, that of legislation."[22]

The establishment of the Legislative Council was, by and large, welcomed by the people of Mysore. At the first session of the Council, Mr. V. N. Narasimha Iyengar, a non-official member, stated "We look upon the Council as the recognition and fruition of the grand central principle that the interest of the sovereign and his subjects are identical and that it is indispensable in the cause of good and progressive Government that the ruler should be constantly in sympathetic touch with the people and should take into his mature consideration their ideals, sentiments and aspirations in every measure of legislation undertaken for their benefit." He further said, "We hope that after this Council has been in practical working for sometime and when the results so far achieved will justify it, His Highness the Maharaja's progressive government will be pleased, in the fullness of time, to enlarge the Constitution and powers of the Legislative Council, so that it may become truly representative and may be allowed to take a share with the Government in the administration of the country." [23]

Deficiencies :

But there were some people who questioned the practical utility of the Council. As admitted by the Dewan himself, certain section of the people questioned the practical value of the measure, on the ground that in constituting the Council, the Government proceeded with unnecessary caution; that certain privileges conferred on the British Indian Councils such as the power of interpellation and the discussion of the budget were withheld and that the selection of non-official members was kept entirely in the hands of the Government. Some of the members of the Representative Assembly pressed for the recognition of elective principle in the selection of the members, for the increase of non-official element, and the granting of additional privileges and powers to the Council. The Dewan, making observations on the several

22. The Mysore Gazette, 25-7-1907, p.2.
23. Ibid., 25-7-1907, p.4.

points raised, stated, "I failed to see any meaning in the antithesis so often set up between official and non-official views of a question or the views entertained by the people. The Government here is all centered in the Maharaja, and you know that I am indulging in no expression of exaggeration when I say that, so far as our Maharaja is concerned, he has, in governmental matters, no interest apart from those of his subjects." [24]

Thus the elective principle in constituting the composition of non-official members to the Council was not recognised. Nor was the Representative Assembly given the privilege of electing members to the Council. The members of the Representative Assembly expressed a strong desire in 1907 that body should be given the privilege of electing some members to the Council. Speaking at the Representative Assembly, Dewan assured 'I am aware that there is a strong feeling that the elective principle should have been recognised in the selection of non-official members for the Legislative Council and that the Representative Assembly, which has been in existence for over twenty five years, should have been given the privilege of electing members to the Council. I can assure you that this will not be long in coming and that the same spirit of generosity in which His Highness has spontaneously instituted, a Legislative Council will prompt him to give you this valued privilege in due time'. [25]

Elective Element :

The very next year this demand was granted by rules framed by Government, the Assembly was allowed to elect two persons from among its own members, one to represent the Eastern and the other Western districts of the State, and recommend them for nomination by Government. At the same time, the Government reserved the right to reject a candidate duly elected by the Representative Assembly. This power to veto was intended to secure safe members and avoid inconvenient members to the Council. In the year 1908 at the election held among the Representative Assembly members Sri M. Venkatakrishniah of Mysore and Sri D. Venkataramaiah of Bangalore having secured the highest number of votes were recommended for nomination to the Council by the Government. But the Government disapproved the recommendations made by the Assembly and directed a fresh election. Giving reasons for the rejection of the recommended names, the Dewan stated, "that the members did not sufficiently consider the importance of the privilege they propose to confer by their votes, the members should not lose sight of the fact that we are living in a native State, that we are, as it were, experimenting with regard to introducing

24. R.A. Proceedings, 1907, Sub. No. I.
25. Dewan's Speech to R.A., Vol. II, 1907, p.40.

the elective principle for nominations to the Legislative Council and that the persons selected should unexceptionable as regards their ability to represent the true interests of the country and their character and loyalty and such as would be fit recipients of the honours and privileges which His Highness the Maharaja has been graciously pleased to confer on the non-official members of the Council." [26]

The use of *veto* by the Government for rejecting the members designated, clearly indicated that the Government was not interested in men of independent outlook to the Council and they wanted only men who were loyal and obedient to them and also to the paramount power. The members of the Representative Assembly resented the action of the Government for vetoing the names and urged for the amendment of the regulations with regard to the provisions relating to the election of members by that body to the Legislative Council. At that stage, the Government could not also turn down the request of the members and it was assured in the year 1911 that the candidates who secured the largest number of votes of the members of the Assembly would be nominated by the Government as members of the Legislative Council.

Legislative Measures :

The Legislative Council started its work in right earnest and the opportunities afforded therein by the presence of non-officials were fully utilised by the Government in bringing out a series of well considered measures and passing them into law in conformity with the public opinion as expressed in the Council. The Council in a span of a little over a year met seven times and important measures such as the Village Offices Bill, the Police Bill, the Newspaper Bill, the Bill to amend the Court Fees and Stamp Regulations and the Civil Procedure Code formed the subject of discussion in the Council and the Newspaper Regulation and the Regulation to amend the Court Fees and Stamp Regulations were passed into law. Other important measures initiated by the Council such as Village Tank Panchayat Bill, Treasure Trove Bill and Prisons Bill were in the process of law. The first bill to be considered by the Council was the Village Offices Bill, a measure of utmost importance affecting the Welfare of the rural public in general. The law on this subject till then been scattered over a large body of rules and executive orders, many of them not known or easily accessible to the public. This bill which had the object of removal of many anomalies and misconceptions which had till then existed in respect of this important subject was considered by the Council at three successive sittings and passed into law in October, 1908. His Highness the Maharaja congratulated the members of the Council on the satisfactory manner in which this important and contentious measure had been dealt

26. R.A. Proceedings, 1908, Sub. No. 1.

with and stated, 'the discussions were full and informing and now that the members, both official and non-officials, fully appreciate their responsibility and are prepared to bestow ungrudgingly their time and thought on measures submitted to them, I should be glad if the bill becomes the law, to express my appreciation of the services rendered by the non-official members in particular'.[27]

The regulations to amend the Stamp and Court Fees, were framed with a view to remedy certain hardships caused by the previous law, which were brought into notice of the Government, on several occasions by the members of the Representative Assembly.

The newspaper regulations gave a legislative shape to the inherent powers of His Highness the Maharaja for regulating the criticism in the public press in the interest of the State or in the cause of public morality.

Replying to the objections raised by some members that the press under the new regulations will be exposed to the petty tyranny of officials dressed in brief authority. The Dewan stated, 'I have already assured the public that the Government would always be glad to have their acts criticised with as much freedom as the critics liked, provided only that the criticism stopped short of disseminating absolute falsehood and deliberate prevarication of facts, likely to be prejudicial to the interest of the State. The Government of His Highness neither shirk from giving full publicity to their acts and the opening of the Press Room and the public discussion of questions in this very assembly, than which there is not a body in the whole of India better representing the people of a State, will convince you that such is their attitude'.[28]

Besides these laws passed by the Legislative Council, a bill to amend the Military Regulations was passed by the government under the powers reserved under the Legislative Council Regulations. Of the other new measures of Legislation before the Council, the Village Tank Panchayat Bill contained the germs of self-Government in the rural areas. This was considered a first step towards real local-self Government.

Widening the Powers :

Though the Council was started at first with limited functions and with nominated members, no time was lost in enlarging its powers and functions and widening its basis. The members of the Representative Assembly were not content with the granting of the right of electing two members to the Council. They persistently represented that they should be given the right of electing four to eight members, and also they made several representations that the Legislative Council should

27. Speeches of Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar.
28. Dewan's Address to R.A., October 1908, p.433.

be vested with right of interpellation, of discussing the budget and of moving resolutions. The non-official members of the Legislative Council also complained that they were not in a position to do anything for the public and pressed for an increase in powers of the Council. Mr. C. Srinivasa Iyengar, a non-official member, giving expression to this feelings about the working of the Council observed, that 'No efforts will be wanting on our part to render what little assistance we are able to render in launching many important legislative enactments, that are likely to come up before this Council. Our only regret is that we have been able to do so little for the public in the past. I hope, however, ... that the scope of our usefulness will be perceptibly enhanced'. [29]

By and large, the discussions in the Council were conducted as testified to later by Dewan, "In a spirit of mutual concession and toleration within six years of its establishment, the Council had to its credit nearly thirty enactments placed on the Statute book, with a view either to help in the administration of law or to promote the economic well-being of the people."[30]

As already stated the members of the Representative Assembly were not satisfied with the privilege of deputing two of its members to the Council. They continued to represent for granting of privilege of sending more members and according more powers to the Legislative Council. It was prayed that three members to be elected from among representatives to the Council and one member to represent each of the three civil divisions of the State—Nandidurg, Ashtagrama and Nagar. One member suggested that out of two deputed members one must be preferably a Mahamaden as Musalmans were not as advanced as the Hindus. Another member suggested that a Sanskrit Pandith, well-versed in Dharma Sutras and Politics, to be nominated as member to the Council. Members also wanted that no legislative act should be passed by the Legislative Council, until it is discussed in the Representative Assembly. One member allayed misapprehension by the Government that the Representative Assembly was trying to place itself in the position of an 'Upper House' as compared with the Legislative Council.

It was suggested for the grant of the right of interpellation as this privilege was being exercised by the members of the British Indian Legislative Councils. The Legislative Council meets frequently and the privilege, if granted, would be exercised with satisfactory results. Mr. Subba Rao, from Holenarasipur pleaded for issuing orders granting to the members of the Legislative Council the right of discussion of the State budget.[31]

Mr. Venkataramaiah wanted four members to be elected instead of the two members. Of these four, one for each of the three divisions

29. R.A. Proceedings, 1909, Sub. No. 1, p.47.
30. Ibid., p.47.
31. R.A. Proceedings, 1910, Sub. No. 3, p.48.

and the fourth member to represent the Malnad Taluks. The members particularly from Hassan urged for the bestowal of additional powers as those of Councils in British India. The increase of non-official element in the Legislative Council by elections of eight members from the Representative Assembly, one from each district for a period of three years. They also demanded the right of interpellation, the right to discuss and pass resolutions and discussion of the budget in the Council. The members pleaded that it is essential to the Government to be in touch with various matters which do not come to their notice officially and in view of the fact that an independent press does not exist, the right of interpellation in the Legislative Council was of much practical utility and a great boon to the people of Mysore.[32]

Modifications :

In response to these demands of the Representative Assembly members and after an experience of the working of the Legislative Council for about eight years, it was found favour by the Government to introduce certain improvements in the composition and powers of the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council in Mysore was designed on the model of the British Indian Council Act of 1861. Though this Act was revised two times, one in 1909 and another in 1911, the Council in Mysore continued to work on its old lines. In order to improve the representative character, the Government made certain modifications to the Mysore Legislative Council Regulations on 11th October, 1913.[33] According to these reforms the strength of the additional members of the Mysore Legislative Council was raised from a minimum of 10 and maximum of 15, to a minimum of 15 and a maximum of 21 respectively, by Regulation I of 1914, and also a kind of indirect election was introduced for filling up some of the seats meant for non-official members. The number of seats allotted for recommendation by the Representative Assembly was increased from two to four. Of these four seats, two were thrown open for election by the members of the Representative Assembly. Four more seats were kept open for election by the territorial representation from the districts. For the purpose of this election, the eight districts were divided into four groups of two districts each, and the Local Bodies and the Electorate for the Representative Assembly in each group were to elect one member. Thus the Council had eight elected members who, though technically nominated by the Government, were actually chosen by their Representative Electorate. The total number of electorate in all the groupings was about 11,250. Out of these members of the Legislative Council, ten were officials and six were nominated by the Government. The process of nomination by he Government was only a formality.

32. Ibid., 1911, Sub. Nos. 2 & 3, p.41.

33. Notification No.A.11-10-1913, R.A.P. 1913, App.E., p.206.

A high property or educational qualification was prescribed for the candidates for election. Persons paying a land revenue of rupees three hundred or a mohatharfa tax of Rs. 25/- or Inamdars owning Inam villages with a beriz of Rs. 500/- and with a sufficient knowledge of English education were qualified to be candidates for the Legislative Council. Graduates of Indian or English Universities of ten years standing were also made eligible to be candidates. At the same time, the functions of the Council were further enlarged and made more than mere legislative, as there has been a persistant demand for making the Council more effective.

Functions Increased :

The members of the Council were given the right of asking questions on matters of public interest or importance. The privilege of discussing the budget of the State, subject to certain conditions, was given to the Council. This privilege extended only to a general discussion of the budget and the Council had no power to vote or propose any resolutions on it. The right of interpellation on matters of public interest and importance was also granted to the Council. The number of interpellations was limited to twelve questions at each session. The maximum number of questions that could be sent up by any member was fixed at three. The nature of questions to be admitted depended mostly, among other considerations, on the measure of support accorded to them by the non-official members of the Council. The regulation also provided for framing suitable rules for the purpose of giving effect to these measures.

However, these changes did not bring about a marked change in the character of the constitution of the State as the responsibility for the good government in the province vested with the Maharaja as determined by the provisions of the 'Instrument of Transfer'. In reforming the Council there was a keen desire on the part of the Government to associate the representatives of the people in the Council to bring to bear their influence on the policy and the activities of the Government. In explaining this the Dewan stated, "That it will be the endeavour of His Highness's Government to utilise this Council and the Representative Assembly in an ever increasing degree to ascertain the views, wishes and sentiments of His Highness's subjects on matters intimately affecting their welfare'.[34]

Immediately after giving effect to these reforms, Sri S. R. Balakrishna Rao, an elected member of the Council, urged that the privilege of moving resolutions on administrative matters should also be conferred on the Council. He was supported by a good number of elected members. Appreciating the anxiety of the member, the Dewan stated,

34. Dewan's Speech at L.C., 4-4-1913, p.79.

'Considering, the Council itself came into existence so recently you will agree that, with the instalment of reform now, conceded, the development of the Council may be regarded as fairly rapid. In future, the Council will be concerned not only with the work of legislation but also with the matters connected with general administration as well as the preparation of the Budget'.[35]

Three Years Duration :

In the year 1914, at the session of the Representative Assembly, the members asked among other things, for granting to the non-official members of the Legislative Council, of the privilege of asking supplementary questions in connection with the powers of interpellation which they were enjoying. In response to this request, further privileges were granted to the Legislative Council. In 1915, the right to ask supplementary questions was conferred on the Council subject to the same rules as are applicable to the Legislative Council in British India. A member who had asked a question was eligible to put a supplementary one for the purpose of further elucidating any matter of fact regarding which a request for information was made in his original question. The same year representations were made in the Assembly that the number of questions to be answered in the Council should be raised, and accordingly it was increased from twelve to twenty during the single sitting. In 1916 the members expressed the view that each district must elect one member to the Council in the place of the existing arrangement. One member pleaded that the newly established Mysore University may have to be given power to elect one member. Representative Assembly also recommended for the extension of the term of Legislative Council from existing two years to three years, like the British Indian Legislative Councils. The Government saw the intrinsic merit in this demand for extension of the duration and accepted the suggestion and the same was given effect to in 1917.[36]

Finance Committee :

A suggestion was put forward in the Assembly for the formation of a Standing Committee of Finance of the Representative Assembly to consider the proposals for the increase of revenue, imposition of taxes, retrenchment of expenditure and also to assist in the preparation of the State budget. The Government promised to consider the question of constituting a Joint Finance Committee to discuss the financial statement on the lines of similar institutions in British India. Representations were made in the Assembly for the grant of right of moving resolutions and the right of division in the Council on the budget. Without these powers

35. Dewan's Speech, 3-2-1914, p.133.
36. R.A.Proceedings, 1916, Sub. No. 3, p.3.

the object of interpellation and discussion of the budget would not be attained. [37] It was pointed, that even in representation one member from each district should be elected instead of four from the entire Assembly, to the Council. By means of an interpellation, Karnik Krishnamurthy Rao pressed the need for the introduction of several reforms contained in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, like widening the basis of popular representation in the Legislative Council, the removal of existing restrictions on the member's power of interpellation, the right of moving resolutions and the right of full discussion of the budget and the appointment to the Executive Council of non-official members equal in strength to official members. [38]

New Treaty :

This spirit of political consciousness of the people of Mysore received great impetus under the enlightened administration of Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Being alive to the political aspiration of the people, he generally followed a policy of conciliation. The State witnessed all round progress under his benevolent rule and practically laid foundation for every aspect of the future development of Mysore State. Under the Instrument of Transfer, the relation between paramount power and Mysore State were regulated. The conditions defined in the Instrument of Transfer were in the nature of a unilateral imposition of conditions. But in other States the relations were governed by bilateral treaties. This apparent difference was somewhat irksome to the Maharaja and the subjects of the State, and the Maharaja was anxious to see that the State's future relations were regulated by a treaty. Lord Edwin Montagu, the then Under Secretary of State and who was considered as a good friend of India, visited Mysore in 1913. Taking advantage of his visit, Visvesvaraya discussed the question with him and got his sympathies for a new treaty embodying suitable terms. The final drafting of the treaty was done later at Karapur when Lord Harding, the Viceroy, was on a visit to Mysore for Khedda operation. The new treaty conferred full powers on the Maharaja in internal administration and increased his powers and status, subject only to general supremacy and Paramountcy of British Government.

Visvesvaraya's Efforts :

On the basis of this treaty, Visvesvaraya was able to secure more rights to the people and widen the scope of the people's association with the administration. By this treaty the Maharaja was assured of greater autonomy and powers of internal administration. In appreciation of Visvesvaraya's sustained efforts for accomplishing

37. Ibid. 1917, Sub. No. 73.

38. Abstract Proceedings of L.C., Q. No. 4, dt. 28-3-1918.

this task, Maharaja made a generous reference, 'I cannot sufficiently thank you for the great service you have thus rendered to me and my State and which I shall always remember with feelings of deep gratitude. It is a source of great pleasure to me that within a short period of four years or so that you have been here, you should have won not only this lasting honour for Mysore, but accomplished so much for the State in several other directions'.[39]

Visvesvaraya as President of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council extended courtesy and practised great patience when members spoke in the houses. He took criticism in right spirit. It was his burning desire to democratise further the Assembly and the Council and enable the people to evince greater interest in the administration of the State. Although the Representative Assembly was brought into existence in 1881, by that far-sighted and patriotic Statesman, Dewan Rangacharlu, the powers of the Assembly were limited to making representation to Government as a petitioning body. Upto the time Sri Visvesvaraya took over the office, the powers of the Assembly had not made any appreciable advance. Visvesvaraya thought it was desirable to give the Assembly some real powers. Addressing the Assembly he spurred the members in the following terms: "It may be advantageous, at this session, to consider questions pertaining to the composition of the Assembly, the method of electing members thereto, its function and the system of transacting business. If the members discuss these questions and make known their views, the same will be submitted to His Highness for his gracious consideration."[40] As a result of the decisions that followed, the Assembly was given the privilege of discussing the State budget. For this purpose, an abstract budget prepared in Kannada was printed and circulated to members.

Two Sessions:

In accordance with modern democratic tendencies and in tune with the spirit of the times Visvesvaraya brought about a change in the name of the Assembly. The official name of the Assembly, in the beginning was "The Assembly of Representative Ryots and Merchants from all the Taluks of the Province of Mysore." In the year 1914, the name of the Assembly was designated as "The Representative Assembly of Mysore." Further, to bring the members of the Royal family in close touch with the day to day administration, Visvesvaraya induced the Yuvaraja to evince greater interest in the affairs of the State by making him an extraordinary member of the Maharaja's Council in 1914. Till 1917, there was only one session of the Assembly during the Dasara in the months of September and October. With the granting of the privilege

39. Visvesvaraya—Memoirs of My Working Life, p.59.
40. R.A. Proceedings, 1913, p.26.

of discussion on the budget, Visvesvaraya thought it appropriate to give the members an opportunity of discussing the budget before it was passed and sanctioned an axiliary or second session of the Assembly. The Assembly was also given the privilege of interpellation and the right to elect four members to the Legislative Council instead of only two. Towards the end of the term of his office, the franchise of the Assembly was further enlarged by lowering the qualifications for membership and voting.

Liberal Policy :

An important change introduced in the field of administration was the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions. There was a long drawn controversy in British India on this subject, but Visvesvaraya thought the separation as a measure essential to the people's liberty. The necessary arrangement for bringing this system into force in two districts as a first step was made by him and the actual operation on 1st January, 1919.[41] Similarly, the question of liberalising the constitution and powers of the local bodies and improvement of their financial resources were effected through a scheme of reorganisation. The elected members in the local bodies were increased and the right of electing Presidents in selected Municipalities like the City of Bangalore and Vice-Presidents in a large number of Municipalities, was granted.

Another popular cause on which Visvesvaraya took a liberal view was the Press Regulations of 1908. It required the previous permission of the Government to start a newspaper and the grant of permission was not regulated by any rules. The penalties prescribed were withdrawal of the licence and, in case of disobedience, forfeiture of the printing press and the deportation of the Editor. No indication was given in the regulation as to the kind and nature of objectionable matter which subject a newspaper to the penalty. There was no remedy provided by way of an appeal against arbitrary decisions and the orders of the Government were absolute and final. The provisions of the regulation had come under heavy public criticism ever since its promulgation. Repeal or modification of these provisions was urged by the members of the Representative Assembly and the Press. The complaint was that, while corresponding British Indian enactment, i.e., the Press Act of 1910 provided for a Judicial determination of cases coming within its purview, the Mysore Regulation vested the matter completely in the hands of Executive discretion. Dewan Visvesvaraya considered it just to provide for some sort of enquiry before action was taken against any Newspaper. He wanted that enquiry to be conducted by a Judge of the Chief Court and a non-official gentleman of standing who may, ordinarily be a retired officer of

41. Visvesvaraya, op. cit., p.61.

Government of the status of a Head of a Department. Even this limited concession recommended by Dewan was not acceptable to the Durbar. The Private Secretary to the Maharaja wrote back stating that "His Highness is very doubtful as to how far this concession that you propose will be appreciated by the public. He would prefer to leave matters as they are for the present." * Inspite of the reluctance of the Maharaja, he continued his efforts to convince the Maharaja of the justness of his proposal and even to modify some of the proposals suggested that "If there is any objection to a non-official gentleman being associated with the enquiry, that portion of the proposal might be dropped as it is not of the essence of the change. It is quite sufficient if the enquiry is held, say, by a Judge of the Chief court." The modified proposal was accepted by the Maharaja and quasi-judicial enquiry by a Judge of the Chief Court was incorporated in the regulation.

Main Objects :

Sir M. Visvesvaraya knew the principal need of the country and categorised them under three heads :

(i) Increasing production and raising the standard of earning and living among the people ;
(ii) extending education and enlightenment among all classes of the population ; and,
(iii) training the people and encouraging self-help, co-operative effort, initiative and enterprise among them. [42]

These three main objects were steadily pursued on the whole with gratifying results. Impressed by his travels abroad, he was convinced that unsatisfactory economic conditions in Mysore was due chiefly to neglect of education. Japanese leaders created a deep impression on him in this respect by their code of education, the object of which was thus explained therein, 'All knowledge from that necessary for daily life to that higher knowledge necessary to prepare Officers, Farmers, Merchants, Artisans, Physicians, etc., for their respective vacations is acquired by learning. It is intended that henceforth education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family nor a family with an ignorant member'. [43]

Expansion of Education :

Inspired by these ideas, Visvesvaraya launched a vigorous drive in the field of elementary, secondary, female, technical and even higher

*D.C. No. 284, as cited in Honniah N., Responsible Government in the Native State of Mysore, p.181.

42. Visvesvaraya, *op. cit.*, p.65.

43. H. M. Mikado, Cited in Visvesvaraya, M., op. cit., pp.65-66.

education. Legislation was passed introducing compulsory primary education. Special grants were made available for the education of backward classes and depressed communities. As a result of these and other measures, the number of public and private institutions in the State rose from 4568 in 1911 to 11,294 in 1917. The number of children attending the school rose from 138,153 to 366,856.[44] For encouraging higher education in the State, two eminent educationists, Dr. C. R. Reddy and Mr. Thomas Denham, were deputed to study the working of the Universities in England, America, Japan and Australia, and to submit a useful report for establishing a University in Mysore.

Establishment of University :

A scheme for the establishment of a University was submitted for the consideration of the Government of India in February 1916. Permission was given subject to certain conditions respecting the future relations of the new University with the Madras University, which, till then, was granting affiliation to and exercising control over the institutions in Mysore State. A meeting was held at Ooty in June, 1916 for exchange of views between the members of the Syndicate of the Madras University and Sir M. Visvesvaraya representing the Government of Mysore. The representatives of the Madras University Syndicate were opposed to Mysore setting up a separate University. When Visvesvaraya pleaded that a mother should welcome the efforts of a grown-up daughter to set up a house of her own, the reply was that they did not see any obligation on their part to encourage a runaway daughter.[45] Eventually the differences were composed and the Mysore University was established on 1st July, 1916. The credit of establishing a University, in a Princely State, for the first time, in the entire country, goes to Sri Visvesvaraya. In appreciation of this achievement and expressing his gratitude on the occasion of the first Convocation, His Highness the Maharaja stated "I feel that I should acknowledge on this public occasion a debt of gratitude from myself and my people to Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the Dewan of my State. It is chiefly his patriotism, his enthusiasm, and his unflinching advocacy which converted, what was once little more than a dream of the future into a living creation, and his name will always be remembered, above all others, as the man to whom our University owes its being."[46]

Very soon, the University became a centre to promote higher education with learned luminaries to light a torch that would dispel the gloom of ignorance from the remotest corner of the country and to develop the intellectual ability and executive power of citizens and to

44. Visvesvaraya, op. cit., p.68.
45. Visvesvaraya—op. cit., p.70.
46. Speeches of Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, p.161.

afford training necessary to prepare men and women in different fields for the work of the country. The reforms in the representative institutions, the establishment of a centre for higher learning, farsighted and courageous economic, industrial and commercial policies initiated by Sri Visvesvaraya met in confluence to awaken the people of Mysore for political advancement.

Tributes to Visvesvaraya :

In the wake of Non-Brahmin agitation in Madras against Brahmin community in view of the preponderent position they enjoyed in Government service, which had an impact in Mysore, indirectly influenced Sir M. Visvesvaraya to take a voluntary retirement from his Dewanship, in December, 1918. The members of the Representative Assembly deeply felt his exit from the high office, 'The retirement from service of our patriotic Dewan Sir M. Visvesvaraya needs mention as his labours have awakened progressive ideas, quickened thoughts even in remote corners of the province. We have every reason to be thankful to him for having democratised the administration and allowing people's representatives to have a larger share in the administration'.[47] Many public men in Mysore who watched the great progress made in Mysore during the time of Visvesvaraya paid glowing tributes to his administration. Mr. Settlur, retired Judge of High Court, wrote, "Sir M. Visvesvaraya's administration has leavened the Mysore society with a democratic spirit to a degree never dreamt of before. Mr. Rangacharlu organised the State on a democratic basis at the top but Sir M. Visvesvaraya attempted the more daring task of building up from the bottom on the same lines."[48]

Changes Imminent :

By this time the Minto-Morley Reforms having failed to satisfy the aspirations of nationalists in India as the final decision on all questions was retained in the executive, the Home Rule movement was started throughout the country. In response to the popular demand in the British Indian Provinces, the Secretary of State for India made his famous declaration on 20th August, 1917, on the policy of 'increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'.[49] In the background of Montagu's statement on the impending constitutional changes in British India, the demands in Mysore were minimum reforms in the Legislative Council.

47. R.A. Proceedings, 1919, p.127.
48. Hindu, 12-2-1926.
49. Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1918, p.1.

The Government reacting to these demands stated that "the Constitution of the representative bodies in Mysore was not an all fours with the Minto-Morley scheme and found no necessity for further changes." [50]

However, within a short period, the necessity for increasing association of the non-official opinion in the administration of the State became pressing and imminent. Admitting this fact Dewan stated, 'As the administration is growing in complexity and questions of finance involving additional taxation are coming into prominence, His Highness considers it necessary that in future non-official opinion should be even more fully utilised in the task of administration. He accordingly decided that the Legislative Council should be enlarged and that each district, and not each group of two districts, should be able to send a representative to the Council. This is a reform which has been frequently asked for in this Assembly and it gives His Highness much pleasure to be able to meet your wishes. Other changes in the Legislative Council include the creation of a seat for the Mysore University and four seats to be filled up by nomination. In the result, the Legislative Council which now consists of twenty one members will, in future, have a strength of thirty members'. [51]

Legislative Council Act, 1919 :

The scheme announced by the Dewan was promptly implemented in 1919 by the Legislative Council Act XI of 1919. Under this Act the maximum strength of Council was raised to thirty, comprising of seventeen nominated members and thirteen elected members. Among the seventeen nominated, twelve were officials and five were non-officials. Out of thirteen elected, eight were elected by the districts and four were elected by the Reprsentative Assembly, and one by the Mysore University. Thus the Legislative Council Act of 1919 gave the Council a clear non-official majority. Above all, the system of indirect election by the Local Bodies which was in vogue was abandoned and the voters for the Representative Assembly in a district were constituted into an electorate and declared entitled to vote for a member to the Council from that district. By this change in the electorate, the qualifications of voters to the Legislative Council were made identical with those of voters to the Representative Assembly. In practice, it was noticed that high property qualifications had placed the landed class at a disadvantage as few capable men possessing those qualifications and competent to serve on the Legislative Council were to be found among them, with the result that the members of the legal profession, some of whom possessed only academic qualifications, had more or less monopolised all the seats allotted to the districts. Therefore, the

50. Dewan's Reply, R.A. Proceedings, Oct., 1921.
51. Address of the Dewan to R.A., 6-10-1919, p.14.

property qualification of the candidates for election were reduced to the payemnt of a land revenue of Rs. 100/- or a Mohatharfa tax of Rs. 15/- or in case of Inam villages, a beriz valuation of Rs. 150. Simultaneously the powers of the Council were also increased. The privilege of moving resolutions on matters of general public importance was granted for the first time to the members of the Council by Regulation VI of 1919. But the right was subject to certain restrictions and conditions. A member could normally move not more than one resolution at any session of the Council and not more than twelve resolutions in all could be moved in any one session. The matters excluded from the purview of the Council and the budget were not to form the subject of a resolution. Further, the Dewan had retained the right to disallow any resolution without giving any reason other than that in his opinion, it could not be moved, consistently with the public interest. [52] The powers and functions of the Council were gradually enlarged from time to time to meet the wishes and demands of the people.

In a limited way, the Council served to establish a close and intimate link between the people and the administration but still its powers were not effective and it had no influence in shaping the policy of the Government. Its constitutional position was far from being that of a first chamber of the legislature. It continued to remain an independent and detached element of the constitutional system, having no relationship with the Representative Assembly. In brief, the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly did not correspond to the two chambers of a bicameral legislature.

52. Rules of August, 1919.

Chapter IV

Political Awakening in Mysore

Although the Representative Assembly was established as early as 1881 *i.e.*, four years prior to the birth of Indian National Congress, it could not become a nucleus for political movement in Mysore State. Apart from the Representative Assembly there was no other public association and the need for one was not felt in the presence of the Representative Assembly which was considered ample enough to represent the needs of the people and seek their redress by the Government. The wants and the grievances of the people were expressed in the Assembly and the Government gave them due consideration. However, there were forces across the border which were influencing the people in the state to establish public associations.

Influencing Factors :

One such factor was the formation of Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1884 at Madras province. The Mahajana Sabha was established with a view to making possible a periodical exchange of ideas between the Madras and mofussil parts of Madras Presidency and to serve as a representative association and for safeguarding the interest of the people against the harsh and unpopular measures of bureaucracy.

To begin with, the aims and aspirations of Madras Mahajana Sabha, Indian National Congress and the Representative Assembly of Mysore, were more or less the same and they were identical in action by discussing problems of education, self-government, public finance and economics, public health and other miscellaneous matters. 'The Provincial Legislative Assemblies as then constituted, without the right of interpellation or any share in the financial management with their official majorities for the most part and the non-official members owing their appointment entirely to nomination admitted little room for successful expression of popular opinion and failed to command that degree of confidence which was so needful for

their efficient working'.[1] Thus the demands of these organisations or institutions were moderate and mostly constitutional and not agitational or conflicting with or against the authorities. They were mainly concerned with reforms in the administration, in the Councils and in services. The method employed by them was one of prayer, petition and representation. In earlier years the times and conditions were such that anything other than reasoned appeal to the authorities for the redress of the grievances was considered undesirable.

Curzon's Policy :

But gradually a change was witnessed particularly during Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, an imperious and autocratic man who alienated his superior authorities in England and influential elements in Indian Society. Two of his acts provoked widespread resistance throughout India. His attempt to strengthen the State control and responsibility for University education through the Indian Universities Act 1904, and the partition of Bengal in 1905. The partition of Bengal resulted in Swadesi Movement and boycott of British goods. Surendranatha Banerje declared that in order to undo the partition, the Bengalees would fight with the same determination with which Irishmen had struggled for a hundred years to attain Home Rule. In this connection, Bipin Pal made a paradoxical statement in 1907 that the "Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon..... had been one of the most beneficent if not decidedly the most beneficent Viceroyalty that India ever had."[2] He preferred the policy of Curzon to that of Ripon, because while Ripon satisfied educated Indians with political concessions, Curzon by his unpopular policies, made them so discontented that they demanded self-government with greater determination than before.

Swadesi Leagues :

The Swadesi Movement of Indian National Congress spread to Mysore and enkindled a spirit of patriotism among the students and educated public. Swadesi leagues were formed in several parts of the State and boycott of foreign goods was advocated. Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao speaking about unrest in India and its repurcussions on the State of Mysore said "situated as we are, surrounded by British territory on all sides and considering we are equally long under the influence which have given rise to aspirations of nationality and liberty in British India, it is only in the nature of things that this State should not escape participation in the ferment that is noticeable all over India. We should be thankful that the new spirit has not assumed any of those aggressive or ugly forms which it has taken in

1. Majumdar B.B., Indian Political Associations, p.163.
2. Speeches of B.C. Pal, p.6.

some other parts of India."[3] Thus it is evident from Dewan's speech that a kind of mild agitation was stirring in Mysore. Along with the spread of Swadesi Movement the activities and deliberations of the Indian National Congress were widely read and newspapers freely reported the movement in the British Indian Provinces.

Newspaper Regulation :

Another factor which caused deep irritation and resentment among the educated people of Mysore was the promulgation of Newspaper Regulation in 1908 by Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao. During the period of Dewanship of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer and Sri P. N. Krishna Murthy, the attitude of the Government towards the Press was one of indifference. The influence of the Press in moulding the public opinion in Mysore was of considerable nature. After 1881, a number of Newspapers were started at the instance of the then Dewan C. V. Rangacharlu to propagate the national, patriotic and democratic ideas. The prominent papers like *Vrithantha Chinthamani, Deshabhimani, The Nadagannadi, The Herald* gave vent to the grievances of the people and exposed the misdeeds of the administration. They enthused people to take interest in public affairs. The Press also reflected on the deficiencies of the representative institutions and advocated for their reforms. The newspapers frequently commented on the nature of the Representative Assembly and its ineffective character. *Vrithantha Patrika* wrote "Unless the members were given the greater independence, they could not be regarded as the true representatives of the people, nor could the Assembly deserve the name of the Representative Assembly."[4]

The Press also criticised the uncalled interference of the British Resident in the internal administration of the State. The main function of the Resident in the native State was to watch and see that no measures were introduced in the native State which might be derogatory to the interests of the British Government and to tender advice to the Native Rulers on all matters of some consequence. But, Resident often interfered in the internal administration and took offensive interest even in trifling matters. *Karnataka Patrika* wrote, "There is no doubt that the independence of the native Princes is gradually declining. All of them are more or less like puppets in the hands of British Government. He, the Resident meddles in every Act, however trifling, connected with the internal administration of the State and cursed is the Prince who dares to go against the Resident's wishes."[5] Such a criticism was not palatable to the Resident and much less to the British

3. R.A. Proceedings, 1907, App.A.
4. Vrithantha Patrika, Sept. 11, 1890.
5. Karnataka Patrika, January 31, 1887.

Government, which viewed this with seriousness and wanted to restrict the freedom of the Press in the native State. With this object in view, the Government of India promulgated an order by a notification on 25th June, 1891 to bring the Newspapers and other printed works containing public news or comments, under the control of political agents in the States also. In the light of this Government of India Order, the Mysore Newspaper Regulation was passed in 1908. The provisions of the new Regulation were more severe than the Government of India Order. The Press was virtually gagged. The Government did not give any tangible reasons for its promulgation, except stating that it was considered 'expedient to provide for the efficient control of the publication of newspapers and other printed works containing public news'. [6] By keeping this regulation, Government wanted to prevent the spread of political agitation from British Indian territory to Mysore area through the powerful media of the Press. This regulation no doubt pleased the British Masters but obstructed the growth of free and independent Press. In spite of the Government arming itself with enormous powers to deal with the Press, the Press in Mysore did not shirk to point out the defects in the administration. Their tone became more and more anti-British, and outlook nationalistic by reporting the political movement in British India and thereby spurred the people to join the national main stream. In the wake of newspaper regulation, the *Karnataka,* the *Sampath Abhyudaya* and *Sadhwi* became prominent and discharged their duties by exposing the deficiencies of the administration and upholding the people's rights. Veteran journalists Sri D. V. Gundappa and Sri M. Venkata Krishniah used the media of the Press very effectively and skilfully. The Karnataka Paper wrote, 'It is sometimes said that Mysore is a Swaraj State and there are no two elements here to occasion a conflict of interests. A more idle and misleading doctrine was never formulated. Considered racially, Mysore has, it is true, a full measure of Swaraj—that is to say its governing class and the Governed population are both children of the soil. But considering the question from the people's point of view, the Government here is scarcely less bureaucratic than in Bombay or Madras. Only our officialdom is covered with an Indian skin which is in one respect at least operated as a distinct disadvantage in as much as we are not so free as our brothern in British India to criticise and censure."[7]

Rigour of Press Law :

Under the provisions of the regulation, *Nadagannadi* was suppressed and its editor was deported from the State. *Suryodaya Patrika* incurred the displeasure of the Government for criticising the obnoxious Press

6. Preamble to the Regulation No. III of 1908.
7. The Karnataka, October 4, 1916.

Act of 1908. *Bharathi,* a Kannada national daily edited by Navarathna Krishnaswamy was another victim of the Press Law. As a mark of protest, a good number of papers: *Vrithantha Chinthamani,* the *Bharathi,* the *Herald* and the *Nadagannadi* stopped publication. Others were afraid to come out freely for fear of penalties under the regulation. The Press in British India strongly criticised the promulgation of the Newspaper Regulation in Mysore. The *Swadeshamitran,* the *Indian Patriot* and *The Hindu* denounced the bureaucratic vagaries of the States and demanded political reforms. They impressed upon the people and the leaders of the States that the interests of Indian India and the Native India were one and the same and Indian federation would be possible only when the native States also adopted a liberal policy in administration. Thus the Press served as an effective force in enkindling and fomenting the political movement in the States in general and Mysore in particular.

In defence of the Newspaper Regulation Dewan stated, "Constitutionally speaking, the Government of His Highness was autocratic in its nature, and in that allowing the regulation to be passed, His Highness selected to put some limitation on his powers."[8] But Dewan after indicating his mind assured that 'the regulation will not be put into force in regard to any newspaper unless the character of the publication is such that its continuance is undesirable in the interest of the State or in the cause of public morality." [9] It was partly true that the provisions of the regulation were not directly used against the Press which were critical on the policies of the Government but dubious methods were employed by way of giving pin-pricks and putting obstacles indirectly. To state one such glaring instance, Mr. M. Venkatakrishnaiah of Mysore city backed by majority in the Representative Assembly became eligible for nomination to the Legislative Council. The Government, instead of nominating him, chose to *veto* the names and ordered fresh elections without assigning any reason. The motive behind this *veto* was that Mr. M. Venkatakrishnaiah was the editor of the *Mysore Herald,* who, as a protest against the Newspaper Regulation had stopped its publication. Another equally glaring instance was that Mr. S. S. Settlur of Bombay Civil Service was appointed as one of the Judges of the Chief Court of Mysore in 1909. He was an ardent admirer of Lokamanya Tilak and he had published sometime ago a book on Tilak's Trial. The Government of India did not relish this appointment. Indirectly brought pressure on the Government of Mysore to secure the dismissal of Sri Settlur. The removal of Sri Settlur from the Chief Court was very much resented by the Press and the public.

The rigour and severity of the Press Regulation of 1908 came under much criticism ever since its promulgation. Its repeal was urged time

8. R.A. Proceedings, 1908, p.45.
9. R.A. Proceedings, 1908, para 27.

and again by the Press as well as members of the Representative Assembly. One of the stringent provisions was that matters which came under the Press Regulations were left entirely to the discretion of the Executive, while the corresponding British Indian Enactment provided for a judicial determination of the cases. The repressive measures initiated by Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao continued under Sir T. Ananda Rao. These drastic measures were nothing short of gagging the Press. The effects of these rules were felt when the progress towards the enlightenment of masses was retarded. This was visibly noticed by Sir M. Visvesvaraya who wanted a good daily newspaper. He said that 'Government are now doing all that is possible to carry education and enlightenment to the masses but they lack one important instrument for the spread of new ideas, *viz.*, an efficient vernacular Press. "I have been for the last five years trying to get an efficient vernacular daily paper started, but one of the main difficulties has been the existence of this Press Act. For instance, the newly established printing press in Bangalore is quite unwilling to take up any work connected with newspapers for fear of penalties under the Press Regulation." [10]

It was again only at the time when liberal and farsighted statesman Sir M. Visvesvaraya who tried his best to relax the rigour of the Press Act. The heavy hand of Government through Press Regulation was deeply felt and had a baneful effect on the development of the Press and expression of public opinion. Later when Sir M. Visvesvaraya wanted to establish an efficient media to spread education and enlightenment among the masses, the main obstacle was the long arm of the Newspaper Regulation.[11] Even by his genuine efforts he could mitigate the evil to some extent, but could not repair the damage done to this important institution of Press.

Press Law Amended :

The question of repealing the Press Act came up again and again before the Government. In 1919 the Government promised to consider the question of repealing the regulation. In 1920 the Government promised that it would see what further modifications, if any, might be made in the regulations with a view to making it less drastic. In 1921 in course of discussion on the floor of the Representative Assembly the members showed themselves to be in favour of amendment rather than repeal and also for removal of drastic provisions from the statute book and for retention of effective control over the Press. Thus in keeping with the general public opinion of the people of the State a new bill with following features was placed before the Representative Assembly :

10. Confidential file No. 5638, 12-4-1918.
11. File No. 5638, dt. 12-4-1918.

(i) Permission of the Government to edit, print or publish newspaper was dispensed with;
(ii) The nature of the matter, the publication of which offends against the law, was categorically to be defined;
(iii) No action was to be taken against a newspaper without a judicial enquiry; and
(iv) Any order passed after such enquiry would be subject to appeal to the Chief Court.[12]

Thus Press became an effective instrument of popular cause as championed by Visvesvaraya.

Functional Associations:

The Representative Assembly not only brought together the leading ryots and merchants from all parts of the province to be in communication with the Government but also encouraged the rising of a number of functional, economic and social associations having a community of interests. The rules framed in 1887 to determine the composition of the Representative Assembly with a view to secure wishes and aspirations of the different sections of the people, the public associations having more than one hundred membership were granted the privilege of deputing one of their members as the delegate to the Representative Assembly. By 1890, about seven such functional associations like South and North Mysore Planters' Associations, Yadugiri Sadananda Vardhini Sabha, Rate Payers' Associations of Bangalore and Mysore Cities, Kolar Gold Field Mining Board were given representation in the Assembly. The aspirations of these associations in the earlier stages were genuinely functional and intended for the general advancement of the society.

Sons of the Soil:

But gradually some of the associations which came into existence later became parochial and communal. Mysore for Mysoreans movement among the Brahmin community originated in the demand for preferential treatment for entry into the services of the State. To secure the services of the brilliant young men as recruits to the Administrative Service, the Mysore Civil Service Examination was instituted in 1891. This examination was open to all Indian citizens. This competative system created some uneasiness among the people of Mysore because during the Dewanship of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, most of the higher services were filled by the recruits from Madras Province. The presence of predominant Madrasi element in the administration of Mysore was not relished by the people of Mysore and it presented a threat to the local talent. Infiltration of Madrasis and the open competition for recruitment was vigorously opposed by several members of the

12. R.A. Proceedings, October, 1922.

Representative Assembly under the leadership of Sri Venkatakrishnaiah. They were fighting for a policy of protection to the local talents and were highly critical of Dewan's measures. This resulted in bringing into forefront a movement between Mysoreans and non-Mysoreans. The agitators demanded that all appointments must go to the sons of the soil. Mysore for Mysoreans became their slogan. This agitation to a great extent resulted in reducing the Madrasi element in service and in modifying the Mysore Civil Service examination rules in 1912. The new rules of recruitment restricted the examination to the candidates who were either Mysoreans by birth or domicile or who had taken their degrees from one of the colleges in Mysore State. Thus the preponderance of Madrasis in higher services in Mysore gave rise to a parochial movement in Mysore State.

Community Associations :

In tune with the spirit of the times a number of communal associations came into existance in Mysore State. In the year 1906, some of the leading public spirited men of the community, with the aim of ameliorating the conditions of the cultivating classes who constituted the backbone of the agriculture and industry of the State, organised Vokkaligara Sangha. The then Dewan, V. P. Madhava Rao encouraged the Sangha in furtherance of the cause of education and for improvement of agriculture in the State. The Government was prepared to give assistance to get the boys of the community to school and bring home to the cultivators such improved methods of agriculture as may result from the labours of scientific Officers and of those of other provinces. At the opening of the second conference of the Sangha, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar stated, "the aims of the Sangha are entitled to all encouragement. The cultivators of the country are its mainstay in times of prosperity and in times of misfortune. It is on them the burden falls most heavily. Any movement that tends to their welfare must command my warmest support."[13]

The Vokkaligara Sangha tried 'to promote the material, intellectual and moral interest of the great Vokkaligar population'.[14]

Following the lead given by Vokkaligara Sangha other communities organised their own associations. The most significant among them were the Central Mahammaden Association, which came into existence in 1908 ; The Mysore Lingayat Education Fund Association in 1909 ; Arya Vysya Mahasabha in 1915 ; Indian Christian Association in 1920 ; The Adi-Dravida Abhivridhi Sangha in 1920 ; The Jaina Education Fund Association in 1921 ; and the Kurubara Sangha in 1922. All these associations were striving hard to secure the betterment of their

13. Speeches of Sri Krishna Raja Wadiyar, dt. 17-10-1907, p.67.
14. Dewan's Address to R.A., 19-10-1907.

respective communities in matters of administration, public services, social and economic fields. The question of equitable distribution in the Public services and in the educational and other institutions had been the main topic of interest of their resolutions and representations. Even the most backward and downtroden people like Harijans put-forth their claim for social and economic upliftment.

The Adi-Dravida Abhivridhi Sangha represented to the Government—"we are an ancient community with a civilization, philosophy and history of what we reasonably feel proud. We are confident also that our present unfavourable conditions are the outcome of the economic degradation. We are confident that our social condition will automatically improve with improvement of our economic condition. Our foremost need is education, more education and universal education. We are thankful to the Government for throwing open all government and aided institutions to our boys and girls."[15] Dewan appreciating the broad outlook of the Sangha commended the moderate tone of the address of the representatives by saying 'this augurs exceedingly well for their future'. [16]

Non-Brahmin Movement :

The formation of these associations gave fillip to the awakening of the people and helped to get better deal with the Government in redressing their grievances through effective and organised channels. But the most influential factor which added to the awakening among the people of Mysore came across the border was the formation of the non-Brahmin movement under Justice Party in Madras.

To begin with, the Association which the non-Brahmins founded in Madras was called the South Indian Liberal Federation and not the Justice Party. It is also interesting how the term 'Justice Party' was given to this body of non-Brahmin movement. Gokhale, while delivering a speech at the Dharwar Social Conference held on April 27, 1903 remarked that the question of degraded condition of lower castes was in the first place 'a question of sheer Justice'. Probably this remark which attracted the attention of the non-Brahmin leaders to name their party as Justice Party and the Party's newspaper organ as "Justice." [17]

The distinction between Brahmins and non-Brahmins were focussed for the first time in Madras by Alexander Cardew, an I.C.S. Officer, who later rose to be a member of the Madras Executive Council, in his evidence before the Public Service Commission in 1913. He indicated the details by showing that out of 128 permanent district Munsiffs in 1913, as many as 93 were Brahmins, only 25 were non-Brahmins

15. R.A. Proceedings, Oct. 1920, App. 'A'.
16. Ibid.
17. B.B. Majumdar, op. cit., p.260.

and the rest belonged to the other communities. He further stated that in the competitive examinations for the Provincial Civil Service held between 1892-1904, out of 16 successful candidates 15 were Brahmins. This statistics in Madras service opened the eyes of the non-Brahmin leaders. Taking the lead from the Cardew, the champions of the non-Brahmin classes submitted a memorandum to Mr. Edvine Montagu pleading for proper representation of non-Brahmins in the services. In order to intensify their demand for more educational and job opportunities in the State, an association called South Indian Liberal Federation was formed on November 20, 1916. This association of non-Brahmins, started an English newspaper called 'Justice'. Dr. T. M. Nair and Mr. P. Thyagaraya Chettiyar were the leading organisers of the association. The programme of this association was given in December 1916 by the Secretary, Rao Bahadur P. Thyagaraya Chettiyar. The objects of the association were—(i) to promote the educational, social, economic, political, material and moral progress of all communities of South India, other than Brahmins; (ii) to discuss public questions and make a true and timely representation to the Government the views and interests of the people of South India with the object of safeguarding and promoting the interest of all communities of South India, other than Brahmins; (iii) to disseminate by public lectures, by distribution of literature and by other means, sound and liberal views in regard to public questions and thus create and direct public opinion. [18]

The creed of the federation was explained as, that the members of the liberal federation are averse to any violent and sudden constitutional changes which will impair the authority of the British Government to which they look for holding the scales even between class and class. However, they were strongly in favour of progressive political development of a well-defined policy of trust in the people qualified by prudence and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. Any change in the constitutional set up must secure complete representation to the different communities that constitute the population of the State in proportion to their numerical strength and stake in the country. The time for the grant of complete self-Government to India has not yet come. This is a time for the preparation to attain that goal. [19]

C. R. Reddy Champions the Cause :

The non-Brahmin movement of Madras gathered much force and momentum after 1917 and rapidly spread to Mysore. In Mysore State it took the shape of a demand for adequate representation in the public

18. B.B. Majumdar, op. cit., p.264.
19. Ibid.

services of various communities which were not sufficiently represented. By about 1910, there appeared among different groupings of the people resentment over the predominance of Brahmins in public service. As it has been noticed already, a small number of professional men, merchants, retired civil servants and land holders began to organise associations to further the interests of their communities. In 1909, C. R. Reddy, an ardent champion of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras, was appointed as Professor in Maharaja's College in Mysore City. His personal dynamism and reputation as a scholar made him very popular in the intellectual circles and gained easy access to the Royal family of Mysore. Concurrently, his University post brought him into contact with the leaders of the Vokkaliga and Lingayat education associations, and he soon brought these two groups into contact on the basis of anti-Brahmin sentiment. Mr. Reddy directed his non-Brahmin campaign to get special treatment for non-Brahmins and gradually forged the leaders of Vokkaliga, Lingayat and Muslim communities into a formal political association. This campaign reached high pitch on 18th November 1917, when non-Brahmins organised the State's first political meeting in Bangalore. [20]

Praja Mitra Mandali :

Very soon an association called Praja Mitra Mandali, comprising of non-Brahmins was formed in 1917. The object of the association was to secure more and more representation to non-Brahmin communities and to fight the predominance of the Brahmins in the political and administrative affairs of the State. The Government could not be indifferent towards the just demands of these backward communities who constituted the bulk of the population in the State, and endeavoured to do whatever reasonable in their demand. As early as 1892 in considering the question of recruitment to the civil services in Mysore State, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer recorded in a minute the necessity 'to maintain proper proportion of all classes in the service' and stated of the Brahmin community 'that this class is already too well represented'. [21]

Soon after the formation of Praja Mitra Mandali, a deputation consisting of the representatives of the non-Brahmin communities waited on His Highness the Maharaja on 24th June, 1918 and submitted a memorandum pleading that the rural people have not been given the same chances as the population of the town, owing to the existing defects in the educational organisation and also pleaded for giving preference for the non-Brahmins in the services of the Government. The memorandum stated among other things to safeguard the interests of

20. James Manor—Political change in an Indian State, p.59.

21. Dewan's concluding speech—R.A. Proceedings, 1921 June.

all communities in the State that 'all governing councils from Legislative Council downwards to be modelled so as to secure the principles of communal representation; that Government offices be apportioned between the different communities so as to secure a just balance of all interests and provide each community with the only effective motive for education under the circumstances; that to secure the above principles as a temporary measure and, until education is better and more evenly spread in the State and sufficient number of candidates are available, outsiders possessing necessary qualifications be brought into break the existing monopoly; that the results of the Government survey into the representation of the different communities in public services be published together with a statement of policy by the Government on the subject; that these figures be brought upto-date, and that in future these statistics be published annually; that the qualifications for the Officers, etc., be revised so as to abolish the present monopoly by a single class, which in the opinion of Praja Mitra Mandali could be done to the entire benefit of the State both as regards efficiency and economy'. [22]

Government Responds:

In his favourable reply the Maharaja said 'My Government is using its utmost endeavour to encourage backward classes in the State and you may rest assured that this policy of affording special facilities and encouragement to all communities who are being left behind in the race of progress will be steadily pursued in the future even more than it has been in the past'. While assuring his sympathy, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar advised the deputationist 'that they should be careful not to do anything which would mar the unity and harmonious relations among different classes of people in the State and which were an essential condition of all real progress' [23]

The Government became sympathetic to the aspirations of the backward section of the people and was trying to promote their educational and economic interests by way of reserving seats in the schools and also providing scholarships and hostel facilities to the backward and depressed communities.

During the Dewanship of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, a number of schools and educational institutions were started to provide better facilities to backward classes of people. Measures were initiated to secure increased representation of non-Brahmin communities in the public service. A little lower scale of qualification for Amildar appointments was prescribed for non-Brahmin candidates. The same principle was extended to the case of Sheikdars. In the year 1916 Government ordered

22. Memorandum to Sri Krishna Raja Wadiyar, 24th June 1918.
23. Dewan's Address to R.A., dt. 13-10-1921.

that members of communities backward in education should be more largely represented in the public service and directed that 25% of the appointments made in a year in a department or district would be given to the qualified members of these communities.[24] Further the Government observed that there was a large preponderance of Brahmins in the public service and steps were initiated to ensure that all other communities in the State were also adequately represented in the services of the State.

The Government also decided on two progressive measures for ameliorating the conditions of the backward classes and depressed classes in the State. Firstly, the acceptance of the education memorandum submitted by Dr. C. R. Reddy embodying several measures of reforms like— (i) gradual conversion of aided village primary schools to Government institutions; (ii) the development of vernacular middle schools to A. V. Schools of a uniform type; (iii) the combination of practicals with literary instructions; (iv) the establishment of a large number of industrial schools; (v) the extension of the course of normal training; (vi) provision of special facilities for the education of scheduled caste; (vii) and the revision of scales of pay in the tutorial and Inspectorate.[25]

Miller Committee :

To make progress in this direction the other important measure was the constitution of a committee consisting of both Brahmin and non-Brahmin members under the Chairmanship of Sir Leslie C. Miller, Chief Judge of the Mysore High Court,[26] to investigate and report on the problems concerning— (i) changes needed in the then existing rules of recruitment to the public services; (ii) special facilities to encourage higher and professional education among the members of the backward classes; (iii) any other special measures which may be taken to increase the representation of the backward communities in the public service without materially affecting the efficiency, due regard being paid also to the general good accruing to the State by a wider diffusion of education and feeling of increased status which will thereby be produced in the backward communities of the State.

The Miller Committee constituted in August 1918 submitted its report in July 1919. The members of the Committee were convinced of the necessity of special treatment to the backward classes in the matters of public services and recommended that "within a period of

24. Dewan's Address to R.A., 13-10-1921.
25. Education Memorandum, Backward Classes Committee Report—1961, p.61.
26. Other members—Dewan Bahadur C. Srikanteswara Iyer, Rao Bahadur M. Muthanna, Rao Bahadur M.C. Rangaiyengar, Rao Saheb H. Channaiah, Navab Gulam Ahmed Kalami and Mr. Basava Iya.

not more than seven years that not less than half of the higher and two-thirds of the lower appointments in each grades of the service and so far as possible in each office, are to be held by members of the communities other than Brahmin community, preference being given to duly qualified candidates of the depressed classes when such are available." [27] The Government after examining the report in consultation with the Heads of departments, passed orders in May 1921. Welcoming the measures Mr. Gulam Ahmed Kalami, a prominent member of the Representative Assembly stated 'This session of the Assembly is rather unique, in many respects, its worth being remembered. We need not say how grateful we feel for the steps taken by our benign government for the issue of orders in connection with the education memorandum and the order on the Miller Committee Report. The Education Memorandum submitted by Dr. C. R. Reddy will indeed be a landmark in the annals of the administration of this State. The memorandum will not only benefit us, but it also tend to help who are struggling in that direction in other parts of India.[28]

Subtle Protest :

The Government order on backward communities had extensive reaction and even subject of discussion in the very next session of the Representative Assembly, and even after. It had been the main topic of interest in tabling resolutions and interpellations in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The opinion of the Government then on this issue was that the term 'Backward Communities' should be understood to include all communities in the State other than Brahmins. This view continued more or less till 1956 when the State re-organisation was effected. The dissatisfaction against the backward communities order came to the surface in the June session of Representative Assembly, 1921 when some rules of procedure identical with that of corresponding rules relating to the procedure of the Indian Legislative Assembly were issued. As a pretext of expressing dissatisfaction over these rules, most of the subjects standing against the names of members belonging to the Brahmin community were withdrawn by the members with a few exceptions, and did not come up for discussion. These members did not also take part in the discussion of the budget. It was apparent that the withdrawal of the subjects was not due to any hardship implied in the rules but to some real or fancied cause of dissatisfaction, on the order of the Miller Committee Report.

Reacting to this, Dewan pointed out that apart from the merits of the case, the more correct and constitutional course on the part of the mal-contents would have been to bring the matter forward openly at

27. Miller Committee Report, para. 10.
28. R.A. Proceedings, June 1921, p.75.

the time instead of sulking during the discussion and deprive the electors whose representatives they were, of the opportunity of laying their views before the Government and having their grievances considered. Elected members were not in order if they refuse to bring forward matters for representing which they have been deputed by the electors. Dewan even went to the extent of suggesting 'to resign their seats, but to retain their seats and attend the session and then refuse to bring these matters amounts in my opinion to breach of faith with the people by whom they were elected and to whom they are answerable'. Such actions although confined to members numbering only about 35% of the total membership is exceedingly ill-advised and bound to reflect on the reputation, good sense and sobriety which the Assembly had all along maintained. If this attitude on the part of a handful of members should be persisted in, it may, I feel constrained to observe, become necessary to consider measures whereby the object of representative institution may not be defeated and the interest of all the people as a whole may be safeguarded. Dewan then adverting to the nominal issue of rules stated that these rules of procedure are merely identical with the rules of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and these rules are not immutable like the laws of Medes and the Persians, but can be amended and modified as experience indicates.[29]

Mysore Mahajana Sabha :

Apart form several associations, which were striving hard to uplift their respective communities, another association on the lines of Madras Mahajana Sabha, keeping open the membership to all public spirited citizens of the State under the name of Mysore Mahajana Sabha was organised in the year 1910. Its main objectives were to effect greater cordiality between the Government and the people to represent true public opinion regarding various administrative measures, to bring to the notice of the Government from time to time the representations made by the Representative Assembly and urge the speedy execution of administrative reforms proposed by the Assembly, to help generally the advancement of the people in agriculture, commercial and industrial pursuits to arouse an interest in the public mind regarding the administrative policy of Government.[30] Although the Mahajana Sabha was brought into existence with broader outlook and genuine interest of general public, it could not continue for long. After some meetings and discussions, it faded away. Though a good number of associations were in existence in Mysore State, none of them had any political bias and broader perspective. Mostly they had some limited objectives and a narrow sphere of interest and influence. At best they were interested in reforms and improvement in their own sphere of activities.

29. Dewan's Concluding reply to R.A., June 1921.
30. Mysore Star, dated 1-11-1910.

National Spirit :

But a noteworthy development was the endeavour made in 1920 to organise a political party on nationalist lines. As mentioned already, an unprecedented upsurge of national feeling generated at the turn of this century, against the partition of Bengal. This nationalism manifested in the form of virile Swadeshi movement whose programme included the use of Swadeshi goods, the promotion of indegenous industries, boycott of foreign goods particularly British, national education and demand for Swaraj or self-rule. Bengal became the pioneer in spreading the spirit of nationalism. Bankim Chandra Chatterje, the great Bengali novelist, composed the famous national song 'Vande Matharam' whose echo electrified the entire nation with patriotic spirit. The same was translated to Kannada language and sung on all possible occasions, to arouse the sentiment of nationalism among the masses of the State. On similar lines 'Udayavagali Namma Cheluva Kannada Nadu' of Huyilgola Narayana Rao came later at the Belagaum session of Indian National Congress in 1924.[31] This song continues to be the most patriotic popular song of Karnataka.

Crisis in the Congress :

By the year 1907, National leaders like Lokamanya Tilak, Aravinda Ghosh, Lala Lajapath Roy, Bipin Chandra Pal and a host of other names had become the household words in Karnataka representing the symbol of rising nationalism. The patriotic wave generated on the common political issue not only spread to Mysore State but to other Kannada speaking regions which were scattered over something like eighteen different administrations. They were as much caught in the wave of real national awakening as the Swadeshi agitation of 1905-10. The policy followed by the Indian National Congress in early stages of its birth was given up and revolutionary methods also came to play. A marked change was witnessed in the character of Indian National Congress. The Moderates under the leadership of Surendranatha Banerje and Gokhale wanted to reform the administration and considered that for the development of the country it was essential to liberalise Indian Society and to introduce necessary social reforms. They believed in gradualism and conceded that in order to manage democratic institutions, India would have to go through a laborious process of training in the art of parliamentary self-government. The extremist led by Tilak and Aravindo encouraged militant methods in politics. Aravindo stated 'political freedom is the life breath of a nation; to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race without aiming first and foremost at

31. Diwakar R.R, op. cit., p.891.

political freedom, is the very height of ignorance and futility'.[32] Thus the extremists who were aggressive in political field were generally conservative in social matters, where as liberals who were moderate in politics were generally radical so far as social reforms were concerned. The clevage between moderates and extremists in the Indian National Congress was widening. Dadabhai Novaroji had to be brought from England to preside over the 1906 Congress session to avoid the split. But the next year at the Surat session the difference between the two groups reached such proportion the meeting degenerated into a riot in which shoes were hurled and sticks were brandished. The whole political scene was radically transformed. The extremists preached a policy of direct action and passive resistance and denounced the political mendicancy of moderates. Shortly after the Surat session of the Congress Tialk was tried for seditious writings and was sent to Mandalay in upper Burma to serve a six years of rigorous imprisonment. It is here Tilak wrote his interpretation of the *Gita* saying that the real message of the *Gita* was not so much renunciation as was preached in its later part, but a call to action as was proclaimed in the opening parts.

Home Rule :

In 1914 Tilak returned from Mandalay and started the Home Rule League outside the Congress organisation. The Home Rule Movement gained currency in Mysore also. The Doddanna school at Bangalore was placed at the disposal of a Theosophical trust for the purpose of propagation of Home Rule ideas. The British Indian leaders of Home Rule Movement assured the people of the State support in their struggle for political emancipation. 'The struggle in India today is between bureaucracy and democracy and the native States are no exception'.[33] The announcement of Montagu, the Secretary of State for India on 20th August, 1920 and important constitutional reforms introduced in 1919 had an influencing effect on the political awakening of the Princely State of Mysore. The authors of Mont-Ford Reforms stated that "there is a strange reason why the present stir in British India cannot be a matter of indifference to the Princes. Hopes and aspirations may overlap frontier line like sparks across a street. There are in native states men of like minds to those who have been active in spreading new ideas in India. It is not our task to prophesy, but no one would be surprised, if the constitutional changes in British India quickened the pace in the States as well."[34]

32. The doctrine of passive resistance, Aravindo, p.3.
33. The Karnataka dated 30-6-1917,
34. Mont-Ford Report, Para-159.

Reforms of 1919 :

Under the Government of India Act of 1919, it was in the provinces that a system of Dyarchy or double Government was introduced as an experimental measure in self-Government. In this system the Provincial Executive was divided into two parts—the Reserved and the Transferred. Reserved subjects including Finance, land revenue, Justice and Police remained the responsibility of the Governor. Responsibility for transferred subjects, including local—self Government, education, health and public works, was entrusted to the representatives of voters of the province through the Legislative Council which were enlarged in membership and functions and made more representatives of various communities and interests. Thus the Governor-in-Council was in charge of the Reserved Departments and the Governor acting with Ministers was in charge of the Transferred Departments.

Naturally the reforms in the British Indian Provinces had a bearing on the people of Mysore to demand similar reforms for themselves. In the words of Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, the then Executive member of the Council of Mysore 'Time was when ours was the only State in British India which had democratic institution like the Representative Assembly. Though it was no more than a petitioning body it constituted a distinct advance upon the political institutions of British India which existed two decades ago. Since then, events moved very rapidly in British India. The powers and functions of the Legislative Councils were considerably enlarged under the Morley-Minto scheme of reforms and under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, responsible Government had been introduced in the provinces in respect of transferred subjects and the supreme Government was remodelled on a popular basis with full powers over the purse under certain safeguards. Our people, who were enjoying before these reforms, the benefit of a popular and democratic Government cannot remain unaffected by these changes and they would naturally like to be abreast of the times in these matters and desire to have an increasing share in the Government of the Country'. [35]

Congress Circle :

With the political consciousness rising among the people of Mysore and the wave of national movement across the border touching people, an attempt was initiated to organise a nationalist party. Indian National Congress did not evince any interest in the affairs of the Indian States till 1920. States were not considered as an integral part of India for purposes of Congress organisation. The States were incorporated with one or the other of 21 adjoining provincial Congress circles. People of

35. Papers on Constitution and Reforms, 1922, p.30.

Princely States were allowed to become members of the District Congress Committees of the adjoining British areas into which they were assigned and only through this district Committees they were eligible to become delegates to All Indian Congress Committee. But even such inclusion did not entail any interference by the Congress in the internal affairs of the State concerned. In 1918 Tilak having declared that Linguistic provinces as one of the objectives of his newly founded Democratic Swaraj Party, supported a separate Congress province to start with. In the year 1920, Sri R. R. Kadapa, a protagonist of United Karnataka encouraged by the views of Tilak enrolled over eight hundred delegates for Nagpur session of the Congress, put a powerful plea before the Congress. In the new constitution of the Congress passed in 1920, Karnataka was given a separate province and began functioning with its headquarters at Gadag. [36]

District Congress Committee :

The All India Congress Committee at its Nagpur session decided that the Congress Committees might be formed by the people in the Indian States to work for the constructive programmes of the Indian National Congress. Since Mysore had no Congress Committee of its own, some leading public men in Bangalore took initiative to organise one such Committee of the Congress in the year 1920. Messrs D. V. Gundappa, Bhima Rao, H. V. Subramanya, Ramlal Tivari, T. T. Sharma, V. S. Sanjeeva Rao and K. Shamanna had enlisted themselves as members of All India Congress Committee. To begin with, the Bangalore District Congress Committee was formed and enrolment of members started. Mr. S. S. Settlur, a retired Judge of the Chief Court of Mysore, was elected the first President and Sri R. A. Sharma as Secretary. It was attached to Karnatak Provincial Committee to work under its mandate. The main object of this Congress Committee was to follow closely the All India Congress Committee in all its activities and to carry out the mandate issued from time to time, and generally worked out the constructive programme. In one of the resolutions, the Committee affirmed—"This Committee affirms that its activities in national matters in the State will be confined to the propagation of the programme of constructive nationalism, such as encouragement of Swadeshi, removal of untouchability, eradication of drink evil, promotion of national unity, and such other things as are conducive to the regeneration of the Indian Nation. As regards Mysore affairs, the Committee will work for the realization of responsible Government, moral, material, social improvements of the people and the safeguarding of the rights and interests of the citizens of Mysore." [37] Taking the lead from Bangalore District Congress Committee, Mysore

36. Diwakar R.R., op. cit., p.899.
37. Confidential file No. 169 of 23-24.

and Tumkur districts organised their Committees under the leadership of Tagadur Ramachandra Rao and K. Ranga Iyengar respectively.

Gandhiji at Nandi Hills :

The Congress session at Belagaum in 1924, brought people of Mysore closer to the Congress. The State took active part in the Congress exhibition. Many distinguished Palace Musicians and Artists were present at Belagaum in Music and cultural programmes arranged to entertain the delegates. Further, when Gandhiji was touring in North Karnataka had a slight stroke in 1927. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore invited Gandhiji to stay on the Nandi Hills to recoup his health. Gandhiji's four months stay in Mysore provided occasion for the visit of many Congress leaders to Mysore. In the initial stages the Congress discussed the problems connected with welfare of the people and initiated measures for reforms. But it could not avoid the political activities which were intensly going on around the State. The local Congress Committee received an impetus when the Congress declared in the Madras session in 1927 that the States should be brought into line with the British India by the introduction of responsible Government and consequently the States were allowed to organise their own Congress Committees.

Mysore State Congress :

The first session of the Mysore State Congress was held in 1927 at Mysore city under the Presidentship of Manikyavelu Mudaliyar, an eminent Industrialist of Mysore. The session was inaugurated by Sri S. Sathyamurthy, a leading Congressman from Madras. The session was attended by delegates from all parts of the State. The Congress session demanded, in a resolution unanimously passed, the immediate establishment of Responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja.[38] The second session of the Mysore Congress was held at Bangalore in 1929 under the Presidentship of M. Venkatakrishnaiah and the third session was held in 1933 under the Presidentship of Sri K. T. Sathyanarayana Setty. In these sessions the need for communal harmony was stressed and the demand for Responsible Government was reiterated.

There can be no doubt that the various associations formed at the earlier stages were either parochial or communal but they served some useful purpose in voicing the demands of the majority of the people who constituted the bulk of the backward group. But in the larger and national perspective they were baneful to the unity and harmony of the people and to some extent had adverse effect on the political development of the State. With all their deficiencies these bodies

38. Proceedings of the Mysore State Congress, 1928.

imbibed the spirit of democracy and contributed to the awakening of the masses. In addition to their immediate objective, they also focussed their attention to wide issues of political significance.

Demand for Responsible Government :

As early as 1921, Vokkaligara Sangha putforth the demand for representative Government by stating that 'the responsible Government is a penacea for many of the administrative evils. The success of the reforms in British India had produced an added desire among the people for similar reforms here who feel they are in no way worse qualified than their brothern outside, and we trust that the Government will formulate the measures in a bold and generous spirit, taking the people fully into their confidence'.[39] It is interesting to point out that when the purpose for which these communal bodies were formed, was over they did not hesitate to merge with progressive organisations. Gradually the communal issues were relegated to the background and common political issues came to the forefront. The Praja Mitra Mandali, a non-Brahmin association formed in 1917, received a setback after a decade of its existence on the widening of its objectives. Some members wanted to have, in addition to other things, the establishment of responsible Government as one of the objectives of the Mandali. A controversy arose on this issue. Majority of members of Praja Mitra Mandali did not subscribe to this objective. As a result, some of the members wanted to form a separate organisation with progressive views to serve the political advancement of the State.

Praja Paksha :

In 1929 the non-Brahmin conference of the leading men in the State brought into existence Praja Paksha. The composition of the Praja Paksha was the same though theoritically it was open to all communities. By this, it indicated a departure from the communal style of politics and pledged to strive for the attainment of full responsible Government in Mysore. The first session of the Praja Paksha was held at Channapatna under the Presidentship of D. S. Mallappa. One of the important resolutions passed in this session was for setting up responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. The second session of the Praja Paksha was held at Mysore under the Presidentship of H. B. Gundappa Gowda. The members of the Praja Paksha tried to establish powerful local links by contesting District Board elections. The leading non-Brahmin leaders were elected as Presidents of District Boards. In 1930 out of eight districts seven districts board Presidents

39. Papers on Constitutional Reforms, Government of Mysore, p.23.

were non-Brahmins.[40] District Boards provided opportunities for constructive work both in rural and semi-urban taluks by way of putting roads, establishing health centres and providing water and other amenities. In addition, they served as training ground for self-government and a moderate means to power. Most of the members entered Representative Assembly and the Assembly provided a central place for meeting of the leaders of all districts. Most of the District Board Presidents made politics as their principal concern. The membership or Presidentship of the District Board took them beyond part time politics which was the attitude of Praja Mitra Mandali people. The Presidentship gave better social status and position and served a ladder to achieve prominance in State level politics.

Praja Samyuktha Paksha :

At the third session held at Tumkur under the Chairmanship of P. Subbarama Setty, it was suggested to widen the membership of the party by keeping open to all citizens irrespective of caste and community, as otherwise the party was likely to lose its significance as a political party. High hopes were entertained to widen the scope and public were expecting that the membership would be open to all communities including Brahmins. However, the move was defeated by a majority of members. Disappointed by the outcome of this session, H. K. Veeranna Gowda, a prominent member of the party, who later became the President of the Karnataka Congress, exhorted in an article 'Praja Paksha and Brahmins' the inconsistencies of the aims and actions of the party. He argued that 'it was not possible to achieve responsible government by having both love of the country and love of the community' and pleaded that 'the leaders of the party should strive for communal harmony'.[41] This appeal touched the head and heart of many leaders of Praja Paksha and Praja Mitra Mandali. By then, in terms of power and political influence the Praja Paksha politics looked hollow in the light of the substantial political reforms in British India. The attitude of the Government was also not too favourable when the Government did not meet even its minimum statutory obligation in financing the District Boards which were headed by the Presidents belonging to Praja Paksha. Further, the intentions of the Government towards the representatives of the people was indicated by Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail, when in 1934, publicly rejected the proposal for further democratisation of Political Institutions in Mysore. To make a more constructive approach to politics and to serve as an effective opposition to the autocratic Government, the Praja Paksha and the Praja Mitra

40. Bangalore: V. Venkatappa, Mysore : B. S. Puttaswamy, Kolar : I. Vena Reddy, Tumkur : D. S. Mallappa, Chitradurga : G. Channappa, Shimoga : H. Siddaiah, Hassan : H. B. Gundappa Gowda.

41. N. Honniah—Responsible Government in Native State, p.246.

Mandali were merged. Thus established in January 1935 a new political party called Praja Samyuktha Paksha or People's Federation.

The membership of this new party was open to all communities including Brahmins. The striking innovation of this new party was, mobilization of rural support by organising Ryots' Conference in every taluk of the State to hear and catalyse agrarian grievances. The first conference of the people's federation was held in Hassan under the Presidentship of Sri K. C. Reddy. The party demanded in one of the resolutions adequate representation to the backward communities in Government service while another resolution urged the establishment of Responsible Government at once in the State.

Congress Sympathisers Increase :

While the different groupings in the State were transforming into progressive forces, the Congress organisation had not mustered strength and following. During early 1930s things began to improve. More and more people began to associate themselves with the Congress under the leadership of K. T. Bhashyam. Most of the recruits in those years were middle class Brahmins. When the Congress movement began to develop in Mysore after 1935, they played vital role as functionaries within it. [42] Congress organisations and boys clubs appeared in towns and preached Indian Nationalism. In a small degree Congress sympathisers were increased. The Representative Assembly meetings also brought together Congress oriented men spread all over the State. But these men thought of themselves in the Assembly meetings not as Congress bloc but rather as Brahmin bloc. When in 1933 the attempt to field a few candidates in the name of the Congress for Legislative election, could not materialise due to lack of co-ordination. In terms of political activity in Princely States, the Indian National Congress was considering whether the Congressmen should be permitted to go beyond the constructive work programme to engage in electoral and even agitational politics. However, they did not discourage unnecessarily the growth of nationalist sympathy in the States. This was clear when A.I.C.C. stated in Jubblepore session in 1935 that the contribution of the National Congress to States' People's struggle would consist only of 'moral and friendly influence upon the States'.[43] Even the advice of Gandhiji to Mysore Congressmen was to follow the inner voice in deciding resort to Satyagraha in dispute with Mysore Government.

Secular Outlook :

In the meanwhile, the non-Brahmin movement began to accept the nationalistic ideas which was visible in its participation in progressive

42. Manor. J., op. cit., p.77.
43. A.I.C.C. Resolutions, 1935.

measures. Thus, by 1935 the Peoples' Federation formally endorsed the whole constructive work programme, and felt that it was no longer respectable for a political party to exclude any community from the membership. This attitude was due to similar change among the non-Brahmins in the British Indian Provinces across the border. The non-Brahmins declared their willingness to work along with Brahmins. In this process nationalistic outlook had acquired real substance as an element in the State level political atmosphere. Whenever the Congressmen invoked Gandhian canons in support of their professions and claimed to be only true Gandhians in the politics of the State, the non-Brahmin political leaders asserted that although they were not formal members of the Congress, they were more genuine nationalists than the Congress Brahmins. A good number of these non-Brahmin leaders had built up good reputation as District Board Presidents. As members of Representative Assembly and Legislative Council, they commanded great respect because they were no longer considered as loyalist appendage of Government camp. By 1935 the two social groups in Myosre politics were finding more and more in common on many issues of public affairs. In this background changes were also taking place in British India under the Government of India Act, 1935. The working of provincial autonomy increased the power in the hands of the elected representatives. Congress members entered the Councils as Ministers, in several provinces. When such formidable changes were taking place across the border, the refusal of the Government in Mysore to share power was considered as outrageous. This factor impelled both Congress and Federation leaders to come together. Mysore Congressmen began to gain support from the Indian National Congress under the leadership of J. Nehru. In the light of these developments the Mysore Congress announced its intention to contest elections as a party for the election to the Legislative Council and Representative Assembly which were scheduled to be held in March, 1937.[44] Wherever no candidate was available prominent public men were persuaded to stand on Congress ticket. In the elections out of the 21 seats, the Peoples' Federation put up 16 candidates and won 13 seats. Congress won 4 out of 10 candidates set up. After this election, seeing the popularity of the Federation men, Congress began to woo some of the leaders of the Federation particularly those belonging to minority communities who had sympathy for the Congress. B. N. Gupta, a prominent strategist among the non-Brahmin association, was persuaded to join the Congress. Shrewd he was recognised an alliance with the Congress with advantages of substantial political resources. B. N. Gupta endeavoured to build bridge between Peoples' Federation and the Congress.

44. The Hindu, 10th December, 1936.

Government ban on Meetings :

At that stage in July 1937, Dewan made some contemptuous remarks of the local bodies in Mysore State which was insulting enough to inflame both the Congrss party and the Peoples' Federation. The Congress which was establishing itself throughout the State, was prohibited from holding public meetings. A prohibitory order was issued in June 1937 preventing all speeches, meetings and processions without previous permission from the Magistrate for a period of six months. Every effort was made to get it remedied. Even an adjournment motion moved in the Representative Assembly was disallowed by the Dewan-President. Under these situations a Statewide agitation was started by the Congress. On 10th August, 1937 under the instruction from the State Congress and with the approval of Nehru, a Council of action with T. Siddalingaiah, Tagadur Ramachandra Rao and Veera Kesari Seetharam Shastry was formed to publicise their intention to violate the ban if it was not withdrawn. In the first week of October, the members of the Council of action were arrested, the Congress Office was raided and records were seized by the Police. Then Congress called for a Statewide agitation. K. T. Bhashyam was appointed party dictator to lead the Congress campaign. K. T. Bhashyam and N. C. Thimma Reddy made speeches criticising the Government action in strong terms.

Two Parties Merge :

On 14th October, 1937 the Congress members of the Representative Assembly including K. T. Bhashyam and all the Peoples' Federation Leaders gathered in Mysore city for the Autumn sitting of the Representative Assembly which was scheduled for the next day. On the morning of 15th October, Bhashyam was arrested by the Police. As the news of the arrest spread, Congress members met K. C. Reddy, President of the Peoples' Federation, and pleaded before him for the merger of the two parties before the opening of the Representative Assembly at the noon of that day. K. C. Reddy called immediately a meeting of his party members and the meeting approved the merger. On 16th October, 1937 a conference of the Peoples' Federation was called at Mysore with V. Venkatappa presiding the following resolution was unanimously passed. "Whereas it is essential that both British India and Indian States should function through an All India Organisation as India is one and indivisible and the principle of federation is universally accepted.

Whereas the Indian National Congress is an Organisation, the programme of which in relation to Indian States is one very much identical with that of the Mysore Peoples' Federation.

Whereas it is therefore, found inexpedient and undesirable to continue the Federation as a separate organisation.

This Conference ratifies the action of the Executive Committee taken to strengthen the Congress in the State and resolves that the Mysore Peoples' Federation do merge itself into the Congress. [45]

This merger completed the evolution of a nationalistic Political Party with wider base in Mysore State.

Nariman's Arrest :

Soon after the merger of Peoples' Federation and the Congress Committee an incident triggered off agitation in Mysore State. K. F. Nariman, a former Congress Mayor of Bombay visited Bangalore and violated the ban on Congress meetings by addressing a public meeting at Bangalore. The arrest of Nariman was protested by Congressmen and supported by a mob of 5000 students and sympathisers of the Congress. This resulted in firing by the police wounding several people and six people lost their lives. Further violence errupted in several parts of the city and the State Cavalry was brought to put down the riot. This incident embittered the relation between the Government and the Congress and the people were shocked by these events. The Mysore Congress deputed K. C. Reddy to Calcutta where the A.I.C.C. was meeting during the last week of October to report on the Bangalore killing and other repressive measures of the Government on the Congress.

A.I.C.C. promptly condemned the ruthless policy of repression of the Government of Mysore and asked the people of Indian States and British India to give all support and encouragement to the people of Mysore in their struggle. [46] The A.I.C.C. resolution on Mysore was criticised by Gandhiji as an offence against truth and non-violence, as it had been passed without the full grasp of the facts and violative of the Congress policy towards Princely States which was limited only to constructive work programme. The resolution on States was reversed in the A.I.C.C. at Haripura session, stating that 'for the present, Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction of the Congress working Committee and shall not engage in Parliamentary activity nor launch on direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose, independent organisations should be started and continued where they exist already within the States." [47]

Mysore Congress :

The Mysore Congressmen were upset over the decision as the

45. Special Branch Reports, 1937.
46. The Hindu dated 18-11-1937.
47. Haripura Resolution of AICC, 1938.

resolution was not helpful for their continued efforts to develop a popular movement. Confronted with this ominous situation the Congressmen in Mysore declared on 1st March, 1938, that the Mysore branch of the Indian National Congress was to restrict itself to constructive work, for electoral and agitational work they formed another organisation under the name 'Mysore State Congress'. At a meeting of the State Congress convened on 28th February, 1938, it was resolved 'that an organisation known as Mysore Congress shall be formed in Mysore; it shall be an autonomous organisation for the State of Mysore; every Mysorean who is a member of the Indian National Congress in the territory of Mysore is entitled on application to be a member of the organisation; its creed shall be the attainment full responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness and securing of a guarantee of Civil liberty for the people of Mysore by legitimate and non-violent means'.[48]

Thus for all practical intent Mysore Congress started functioning as an ostensibly independent organisation though it maintained a slender connection with Indian National Congress.

48. Special Branch Abstracts, Vol. I, 1938, p.280.

Chapter V

The Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council Acts, 1923

Political Advancement :

With the spread of education and political ideas, there arose a general awakening among the people of the country. Mysore was the first Princely State to establish a University of its own as early as 1916, to encourage higher education among her people. The rise of Public Associations and her progressive administration under the Dewanship of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, have to a great extent prepared all sections of the people for political advancement of the State. Even the Royal Court was anxious to see that Mysore did not lag behind other provinces and States in the pace of progress, and even promoted the cause of education and economic growth to the fullest possible extent permitted by the resources of the State.[1]

Although Visvesvaraya retired as Dewan in 1918, he continued to take active interest in the affairs of the State by guiding the State in economic, constitutional and other matters. On 15th November, 1919 the leaders of Praja Mitra Mandali, in an address to Dewan Kantharaje Urs, stated that they were a political organisation constituted to advocate and to secure by constitutional means the economic and political reforms in the administration of the State. By 1920 a good number of patriotic young men without any distinction of caste, creed or community were attracted to the Congress Committee formed in Mysore. There was no hindrance to Congress movement in the State but owing to pressure from Paramount power, now and then, the Congress activities were kept within some limits. In 1921, the members of the Representative Assembly urged for the constitution of a non-official Committee to prepare a scheme of reforms on the lines of the reforms in British India.[2] Again in 1922 a resolution was moved in the Assembly urging for the same.

1. Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, op. cit., p.231.
2. R.A. Proceedings, 1921.

Assurances of Dewan :

Sympathising with the aspirations of the people, the Dewan stated, the question of adoption of the measures for giving the people an increasing share in the administration is engaging the earnest attention of the Government. The views of the Assembly as indicated in the discussions to-day will be submitted to His Highness the Maharaja for his gracious consideration and I trust it will be possible to evolve a scheme of reforms which may be placed before the Assembly for discussion when we next meet'. [3]

In accordance with the assurances given, Dewan Kantharaje Urs proposed a scheme of reforms which indicated to extend and enlarge the two representative institutions, *i.e.*, Representative Assembly and Legislative Council, with a view to afford them an increasing opportunity to influence His Highness's Government decisions. This scheme provided for an Executive consisting of the Dewan and members of Council responsible to His Highness the Maharaja and out of the members of the Executive Council, two might be appointed from the public service and one might be selected among the members of Legislative Council or Representative Assembly. The Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were to continue with enhanced status and influence. The resolutions passed by at least three-fifth majority in both houses to be binding on the Government, barring reserved subjects. The franchise for both houses to be widened and the sex disqualifications to be removed in respect of voters. [4]

Suggestions from Representative Assembly Members :

Welcoming the reforms measures Hosakoppa Krishna Rao led the discussion on the floor of the Representative Assembly with the observation that the changes announced were a due fulfilment of pledges given by the Government, although they might fall short of popular expectations. Sri Krishna Sastri observed that although it was inappropriate to raise a discussion on the announcement he could yet urge that the strength of the Representative Assembly might be increased to 250 and that of the Council to 50 or 60.

Sri C. Srinivasa Rao wished that the changes announced would enhance the prestige of the Institutions and a fully representative body would prove a tower of strength to Government. He pleaded for the grant of more powers to the Representative Assembly which should never hold a secondary place.

Sri M. Subbayya dealt on the need for increasing the strength of the Assembly and for granting it the privilege of voting on State

3. Ibid.
4. Dewan's Announcement, R.A. Proceedings, October, 1922.

expenditure and expressed the heartfelt gratitude of the Assembly for the announcement of reforms.

According to M. A. Abbas Khan the announcement doubtless conferred additional powers on the Assembly though it might not be upto popular expectations. A written representation by a few members urged that since the public had just begun to evince interest in matters of administration the time was not yet ripe for altering the strength of the Assembly. [5]

Suggestions from the Public :

Many prominent officials, retired officers and non-official members were consulted on the question of reforms. Sri Srikanteswara Iyer was not for any substantial reforms and wanted the existing status of the two houses to continue.

Dr. Brizendranatha Seal, Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University who later headed the Committee on the Constitutional development, suggested a Council of four of whom one was to be non-official and they should be chosen and be responsible to the Supreme Executive head. He wanted the revision of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council to suit the changed conditions and these bodies were mainly to serve the purpose of referendum and initiative.

Mr. M. C. Ranga Iyengar emphasised the need for reforms in the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council. Sri J. S. Chakravarthi felt that the proposals of the Dewan were inadequate and suggested an executive responsible to the Legislature and the Representative Assembly to constitute the first house and the Legislative Council, a revising Chamber. All the Taxes and budget grants should be voted by Representative Assembly. The Dewan was not to be a member of either house, and their Presidents and Vice-Presidents were to be elected.

K. P. Puttanna Chetty pleaded for making the Executive responsible to the legislature elected by the people. People of Mysore were equally advanced and had a long experience of representative institutions to go a step forward in constitutional advancement at least equal to the degree of progress secured by the British Indian Provinces.

Suggestions of Visvesvaraya :

Sir M. Visvesvaraya came forward with three fold suggestions for reforms— (i) To remodel the two existing popular Assemblies so as to be really representative of the various interests in the State ; (ii) To grant a partial form of responsible Government by making the two representative bodies more responsible than they were by nominating

5. R.A. Proceedings, October, 1922.

one or more members of the Executive Council from persons who enjoyed the confidence of the legislature and making the decisions and resolutions of the legislature binding on the Executive in regard to certain specified departments or branches of the administration corresponding to what were known as transferred subjects in British India. (iii) Making the executive responsible to the legislature or at least the executive to consist of persons who enjoyed the confidence of the legislature and whose acts would be supervised and controlled by the legislature in harmony with the public opinion of the State. [6] Of the three schemes of Visvesvaraya the second one was considered more desirable because it tallied with the provisional scheme put forward by the Dewan. According to this scheme the two houses were to become the Upper House and Lower House of the Legislature and they would enjoy the right of interpellations, of passing resolutions and the Lower House would exercise control over the Finance. Visvesvaraya was of the opinion that Mysore was the first Indian State to start some kind of representative bodies. Any reform contemplated by the Government must be in the direction of giving the people some form of responsible Government. With such real power gradually the best and the most popular men in two houses would be appointed to the Council. In that case people will work with hope and His Highness will be saved the anxiety arising out of public agitation and the Mysore State will continue to maintain the lead in the constitutional progress. [7]

A. R. Banerjee desires Reforms :

When all these suggestions for constitutional reforms were before the Government, Sir Kantharaje Urs retired from Dewanship in 1922 due to illness and was succeeded by Sir Albion Rajkumar Banerjee, a retired I.C.S. from Bengal with rich experience in administration. Though a Brahmin, he quickly proved himself sympathetic to non-Brahmins. He had a flair for Parliamentary system and constitutional Government and earnestly desired some reforms to the existing representative institutions. He suggested that a greater association of people in the affairs of the State would be appreciated by the educated elite and also beneficial to the well-being of the State. In announcing the intention of the Government for further reforms, the Dewan stated 'His Highness the Maharaja feels that the time has now come for taking further step in the policy of associating the people more and more with the Government, and increasing the popular element in the administration. He has accordingly been graciously pleased to sanction the reconstitution of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative

6. Visvesvaraya—Notes on Constitutional Reforms—30-5-1922.
7. Ibid.

Council with enlarged functions and has commanded me to communicate to you the main features of the contemplated developments'.[8]

B. N. Seal Committee :

In accordance with the announcement by Dewan in the Representative Assembly a Committee of Officials and non-Officials[9] under the Chairmanship of Sir Brizendranath Seal, Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University was constituted to work out the details to give effect to the constitutional developments.

The terms of reference to the Committee were :

(i) To indicate the manner in which the Representative Assembly may be given a definite place in the constitution ;

(ii) to specify definitely the extent to which the property and other qualifications prescribed for the voters may be substantially reduced ;

(iii) to propose the strength of the Assembly keeping in view the principle that for an efficient discharge of enlarged and more reponsible functions of the Assembly ;

(iv) to go into the details of the constitution of the Assembly and the electorates and to suggest whether all the elected members should be chosen by primary election or partly by primary and partly by secondary election, and to detail the special interests and minorities requiring representation ; and the manner of such representation ;

(v) to propose the qualifications and disqualifications for the candidates to the Assembly ;

(vi) to draft rules relating to the conduct of elections to the Assembly, corrupt practices and the disposal of objection petitions ;

(vii) to submit specific recommendations as to the length and frequency of the sessions of the Assembly, the number of interpellations, resolutions and representations that may be brought forward at a session ;

(viii) the procedure of the Assembly and the order of the business with reference to the enlarged functions granted by the announcement.[10]

As regards the Legislative Council :

(i) To propose the strength of the Council subject to a minimum of 40 and maximum of 50 ; the distribution of seats between elected, nominated non-official and official members keeping in view the representation of special interests and minorities ; the information of

8. R.A. Proceedings, 7-10-1922.

9. Official Members : K. Chandy, K. Mathan, M. N. Krishha Rao, K. R. Srinivasaiyengar, V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer (Secretary) Non-Official Members : K. P. Puttanna Chetty, S. Venkateshaiah, B. V. Ramaswamy Chetty, M. Subbayya, M. Abbas Khan, C. Srinivasa Rao.

10. B. N. Seal Committee Report—1923, pp.1 & 2.

suitable electorates; the qualifications and disqualifications of the candidates; and the rules relating to election, corrupt practices and objection petitions;

(ii) to make specific recommendation for increasing the number of interpellations and resolutions that may be brought forward at a session of the Council;

(iii) to consider carefully the power of voting on the annual State Budget, conceeded in the announcement of the Dewan and to advise on the procedure to be followed in respect of such voting, the heads to be voted upon, reappropriations and supplementary grants;

(iv) to send up proposals for the revision of the rules of business of the Legislative Council, rendered necessary by the enlargement of its functions;

(v) to advise as to number of standing Advisory Committees and their respective functions and to suggest rules for the selection of members to such Committees.[11]

Committee's Task:

Under these terms of reference, the Committee had a defined scope and were not free to offer their independent suggestions or denovo in building up a new constitution for the State. This, however, did not mean that the Committee should take a mechanical view of its work or entertain a narrow idea of its responsibilities.

Firstly, the announcement gave only a general framework. It defined the scope and powers of the two houses leaving their constitution and composition to the deliberations of the Committee. Further, the generality of announcement lent itself in some matters to alternate the schemes of development and the Committee was free to move in direction of what appeared was the sound constitutional development in the circumstances of Mysore and her people. But the most responsible task of the Committee was to visualise the reformed constitution as a whole, to bring out the meaning that runs through the entire plan and pattern, and ensure that it becomes a living entity having in it "a plastic principle" which would enable it to grow in response to inevitable changes in the course of historic development. The Committee having borne in mind these fundamental considerations proceeded to propose a scheme of reforms. The Committee considered that a Constitution is not made but grows. The new scheme must evolve out of historical conditions and traditions in response to new needs and new facts. Mysore had certain unique constitutional and ultra-constitutional developments in the past, notably the Representative Assembly and economic conference unknown to British India. Mysore also had in

11. B. N. Seal—Constitutional Developments in Mysore, 1923, p.3.

the Legislative Council the rudiments of a legislature to reflect the collective will of the people. Above all the basic tradition of the sovereignty of the head of the State as the original institution exercising all functions—Legislative, Judicial and Executive, and the existing conditions of the masses of rural population and their political potentialities and educability were also kept in view by the Committee in giving shape to its decisions of principles and policy.[12]

Preserving Balance :

The Committee also kept in view, as applicable to Mysore, the actualities of Indian social and rural organisation which dominated the forms of polity in India. For instance, India had always had intermediary groups between the State and the individual such as the village community, the five Assemblies, the guild, the Puga, the Sreni, the Gana, the Caste and other interest or function group, which had an independent origin and sanction. The State could not completely assimilate their quazi-independent character or usurp their jurisdiction or functions. It is true, in recent times, there has been considerable disorganisation of the village communities and the functional groups, but any political organisation to be built up in India must take into account the deeply embeded social instincts and social postulates of the Indian people, though they have to be adopted to the spirit of the age and the governing facts. Thus the Committee had kept in view to reorganise the special-interest-groups as an organic character, having emphasis on democracy, rationalism, individual liberty, party Government, the majority rule and the constitutional checks and correctives to preserve the balance and equipoise of the State.[13]

Constitutional Status :

Mysore being a unitary State, internally the head of the State was supreme executive as well as the source and sanction of law. Externally its relation to paramount power was defined by the treaty of Mysore. The incorporation of the people in the Government was essential to the strength and stability of the State. To maintain the sovereign unity of the people and the ruler, political organisations and Assemblies had come into existence as auxiliaries. These bodies had to be incorporated by giving a constitutional status in the sovereign unity, replacing the autocratic unity and the loose heterogeneous structure which so far existed in the body politic of Mysore. The revision of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was considered by the Committee to meet the spirit and the times that obtained in Mysore. Under the then existing constitution of Mysore

12. B. N. Seal Committee Report—Sec.1, Ch. 1, p.2.
13. Ibid., Sec. 1, p.3.

the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council did not correspond to a double chamber of legislature. The reforms contemplated did not have a bi-cameral legislature in view. Because the compact and viable population, simple socio-economic structure and the economic land holdings required a single chamber. A double chamber was considered economically wasteful and politically unsound from the point of view of deliberations. To influence the sovereign at the top of the polity there was ample room for representation, initiative and corrective from below. Law making requires three stages—the Representative Assembly in Mysore performed the function of representing the wants and grievances, with power of initiative. The Legislative Council representing the collective wisdom and experience of the people formulated the laws, policies and programmes. To aid and guide the Council there must be advisory standing Committees endowed with expertise and scientific knowledge.

Initiative :

The Committee wanted that the Representative Assembly to serve informally and rudimentarily two main ends, *i.e.*, the initiative and referendum which are considered as useful supplements and correctives to the machinery of formal constitutional representation. The scheme suggested must be capable of serving the people by methods which are more direct and intimate in their outlook on the life of the common people than the political machinery of the orthodox Parliamentary pattern. [14] The members of the Assembly coming from the body of the people should bear mandate regarding the peoples' wants, desires and grievances which the Assembly may formulate for the purpose of an initiative to the legislature. They should be consulted on all important legislative measures and the general principles of all bills should be referred to them and their views ascertained. They should discuss the budget on general lines. And finally, they may also bring mandates regarding matters which have been referred to the people by the Government or the Legislature especially in the case of bills touching closely and directly the people's daily life. A properly composed and developed Representative Assembly would be eminently suited to discharge such functions as mentioned above. Thus the Representative Assembly was to be shaped to seek to combine the forms of representation with the substance of a referendum and an initiative.[15]

Legislative Council :

While the Representative Assmbly must be the epitome of the people sufficiently large and comprehensive, the Legislative Council

14 Ibid., 1923, Sec. IV, Ch. 1, p.9.

15. Ibid., p.10.

having different function and end, must be an Assembly embodying the collective wisdom and virtue of the people, as it has to shape and formulate legislative measures to secure the well-being of the people by ways and means acceptable to the representatives of the people. Such a body must be composed of persons who have a large outlook, who can understand the theory and art of Government. Its composition must bear some proportion to the size and population of the State and also to the variety of its interests. The representation should be divided between (i) The territorial groups representing urban and rural areas;

(ii) functional groups representing different vocations, professions and interests to be elected by registered bodies, corporations and associations;

(iii) the interests of the people represented by the State in the form of nomination of officials from different departments of Civil Services and non-official representatives appointed to protect the interests of the minorities.[16] All these considerations were kept in view for constituting the Legislative Council for the simple reason that functional groups and interest groups are outstanding factors in rural economic and political organisations. The principle of groups has been recognised as a basic factor in economic and political compositions. The great advantage of such a composition of legislature is that it is bound to work for softening of differences including communal differences and thereby establish in the society the representation of interests and functions for bringing unity and concord. To maintain the contact and rapport with the people other than the machinery of constitutional representation in the legislature, the Committee felt the need for providing the Government for the purpose of administration and development a number of standing Committees such as Board of Education, a Board of Sanitation and Public Health, a Board of Agriculture, a Board of Industries and Commerce, a Board of Railways and Public Works, a standing Committee of Taxation and Finance, a board of development, and even chartered corporation like Universities were to serve as means for devolution of power and were expected to become popular and non-bureaucratic in character and composition.[17]

Thus the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council would have to share between them the primary functions in the process of law making. The former was to express the people's will and give a guiding line to policy. This, in essence, was the meaning of any referendum or initiative. The Legislative Council was to bring its collective wisdom and experience to the task of formulating reasoned and well thought out policies, laws and measures.

16. Ibid., Ch. I, Sec. IV, Para 23, p.11.
17. Ibid., Ch. I, Sec. IV, p.19.

With these general considerations and constitutional plan in view the Committee began its work with industry, patience, foresight, and bestowed its attention on the intricate and difficult task entrusted to them. The Committee's sittings commenced on 23rd October, 1922 and had thirty six meetings. The first twenty four meetings were devoted to consider the various points for formulation of proposals and the remaining twelve for discussion and passing of the final report. In making the recommendations and preparing the report, the Committee took into consideration the representations received from public bodies, associations and also private individuals.

Committee's Recommendations :

On the basis of the above principles, the Committee recommended the following scheme of reforms to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The Representative Assembly should be given a definite place in the constitution by a special proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja under the signed mannual implying its constitutional status, powers and scope with reference to law making *i.e.*, actual legislation, initiative, referendum, or mandate as the case may be and in relation to other public powers.

(i) Representatives should ordinarily be consulted about every important legislative measure before the first reading of the bill in the Legislative Council.

(ii) All the legislative measures about which the Representative Assembly is to be consulted shall be placed before it with a statement embodying the general principles of such measures.

(iii) The discussions will be confined to the general principles of the bills.

(iv) Members were to be free to propose an amendment to the general principles of any measure but not to the particular clauses in the bill.

(v) The Committee's recommendations comprised of rules of procedure, taxation, interpellations, representation, resolutions, discussion of the budget, strength of the Assembly, electorate, representation of minorities and special interests, qualifications of voters in urban and rural constituencies, qualifications for candidates and members, duration of the sessions, and order of business on election rules, corrupt practices and objection petitions and standing Committees.

As to the Legislative Council, the Committee's recommendations referred to the strength and composition of the Council, constituencies, electorate, qualifications of voters and candidates, election rules, voting on budget, reappropriation and supplementary grants, amendment of the rules of business of the Legislative Council.

Advisory Committees :

The Committee's recommendations included the constitution of standing Committees to advise the Government on matters of education, health, sanitation, local self-Government, railways, industries and commerce. These standing Committees were to some extent be means of securing expert advice and of popularising the administration. These Committees of experts representing varied interests, as statutory bodies outside the Legislature and constituted for advising the executive and the legislature in all matters touching intensive development were considered as an outstanding characteristic of Mysore Polity.

The report of the Committee was submitted to the Government on 7th March, 1923. It was unanimous on all essential points involved, except on the vexed question of the representation of the minorities. [18] The Committee developed the main outlines of the scheme with great precision and consistency. In preparing the report, the Committee kept in view the theory of Government as applied to a State in which the Ruler remains supreme, but desires to give as large a share as possible in the Government to the representatives of his people.

The Seal Committee report was considered as one of the most remarkable and interesting documents in constitutional development in recent years and evoked praise from eminent statesmen both in India and Europe. Many intricate and difficult issues were disentangled and envisaged in their true perspective from the point of view of the future evolution of Mysore, so as to remove any misconception in regard to many objectives in view and to the ultimate form in which the scheme has to be crystalised in its final shape in harmony with the local conditions and past traditions of the State.

Observations on the Report :

The report was published on 26th April, 1923 for general observation and criticism by the Public. It was widely discussed by the public bodies in the State and at several conferences. The conferences at Mysore, Tumkur and Bangalore considered the report at length and in detail. The representations were also received from fifteen public bodies and about sixteen private individuals from different parts of the State. At the June session of the Representative Assembly the members discussed the report at length. The main trends of criticism in the Assembly were :

(i) That the recommendations did not show any such definite place as was promised in the announcement of Dewan to be assigned to the Representative Assembly in the Constitution.

18. Ibid., 1923, p.206.

(ii) The two houses were kept independent of one another with defined functions and composition of their own. The Representative Assembly which was designed to serve the ends of Initiative and Referendum, was not allowed any substantial power over the budget and legislation.

(iii) The composition of the Assembly was also cumbersome. It contained both elected and nominated members coming from different Constituencies representing divergent interests, whose opinions could not crystalise into reasonable principles of law.

(iv) The composition of the Legislative Council was even worse. The Ex-Officio members, nominated officials, and nominated non-officials outnumbered the elected members of general and special interests, thereby making the elected elements ineffective in influencing the legislative activities of the Council.

(v) It is true that the reforms were intended to avoid communal virus in the body politic of Mysore by recommending a system of representation through recognised associations which was expected to cut a compromise by eliminating the system of communal electorate and at the same time provide for the political protection of the minorities. The so called facultative representation by associations created a cleavage of interest among the members of the different communities and castes.

(vi) As regards the powers granted to the Assembly in terms of interpellations, representations and resolutions, mostly they were recommendations because the Dewan-President was all powerful and his decisions could not be challenged. He had the necessary power to disallow anything that was inconvenient to the administration on the plea of public interest. 'Representative Assembly really played no part in the constitutional life of the State. It remained a petitioning body and enjoyed really no effective voice in shaping the policies of the Government'.[19]

(vii) Even with regard to Legislative Council, to a large measure, the same was the position. The Dewan-President was a powerful institution and disallowence of questions and resolutions was not uncommon. It is true the Council was given power of discussion of the budget and voting on the grants under heads. In actual working absolutely there was no chance of a demand for grants being rejected owing to the character of the composition of the Council, even then the Government was vested with special powers to restore the rejected or reduced grants by the Council.

(viii) Another important criticism against the reforms was the grafting of Parliamentary usages without the Parliamentary system.

19. R. A. Proceedings, June 1935, p.74.

At best it was a responsive system. The autocratic nature of the Government more or less continued by Legislature exercising virtually no effective control over the Government.

(ix) The disfranchising of the District Boards, reduction of seats in urban areas, increase of nominations and representation to associations made the representation of various interests in the Assembly really illusory. Even in rural constituencies the distribution of seats among the various districts was not based on any rational principle of representation. For instance, Shimoga with a population of four lakhs and ninety two thousand was allotted 21 seats while Bangalore district with seven lakhs and eighty eight thousand population was given only 20 seats, and Tumkur with seven lakhs and seventy three thousand got only 19 seats. This was considered as iniquitous.

(x) Disqualifying the Government servants from exercising the franchise was another flaw in the franchise. The criticism was that the Government servants happened to be a well informed section of people, and should not have been deprived of the elementary right of citizenship.

(xi) The retention of sex disqualification of women to be members of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was considered a retrograde measure. There was no justification for such discrimination as women were already serving as members of various bodies like University Senate, Economic Conference and its Committees. They had established a name on their own in medical and education departments. In the neighbouring province of Madras they were being appointed even to the Bench. Their activities in social service were wide as well as varied in character. It is not merely differences of interests that must have been taken into consideration in giving representation, but difference in point of view was equally important. Therefore, this right could reasonably not be refused to women.[20]

(xii) The reforms proposed could not satisfy even the moderate section of the public as no provision was made to include a non-official member to the Executive Council who had the support of the legislature as it was the case with reforms in British India.

Scheme of Reforms :

After giving careful and detailed consideration to the report of the Committee as well as to all other views placed at the disposal of the Government, the general scheme and decisions embodied in the proclamation and in the two regulations, one relating to the Representative Assembly and another to the Legislative Council was

20. B. N. Seal Committee Report, p.236.

issued on 27th October, 1923, announcing the constitutional reforms sanctioned for the State.

The Proclamation affirmed His Highness's earnest desire to provide for the increasing association of his people with his Government in the administration of the State, and announced that as various measures which had been adopted from time to time in accordance with that desire had met with a gratifying response from the people and to take further substantial steps in the same direction. His Highness invited the people to utilise the larger opportunities for public service and usefulness to the State which he was now conferring upon them; and expressed his confidence that they would respond to his call with the same loyalty and sense of responsibility as in the past and in a spirit of mutual toleration and goodwill.[21]

Statutory Basis :

The Law relating to the constitution and functions of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was promulgated in Acts XVIII and XIX of 1923 respectively. The Representative Assembly which had been functioning till now, was based on an Executive Order of Government, the changes in its constitution, powers and functions were introduced by similar orders. With the promulgation of this Act the Representative Assembly was placed on a statutory basis and its powers and functions were defined by the Representative Assmbly Act and the rules framed thereunder.[22]

Composition of the Assembly :

Previously the composition of the Assembly comprised of 282 members who were all elected non-officials representing different taluks, Municipalities, District Boards and Associations, which was considered defective in some respects. While the election of the members from taluks and sub-taluks was direct, the election of those by the Municipalities and District Boards was indirect. Further, there was no clear line of division between the urban and the rural electorate and the representation of special interests through public Association was based on a general scheme. Moreover, there were no definite provisions for the protection of the claims of the minorities. The Committee considered that in view of the enlarged powers and functions, with which, it was proposed to invest the Assembly, a reduction in strength to 250, and made due provision for representation of new interests and constituencies that may spring up in future such as the Jahagir taluks of Sringeri and Yelandur.

21. R. A. Proceedings, 1923.
22. Regulation No. XVIII & XIX passed on 27-10-1923.

Accordingly, the strength of the Assembly was fixed at 250, but with power vesting in Government to increase the number upto a maximum of 275 for the purpose of removing inequalities, if any, of representation and in order to meet the demand for the representation of the Constituencies that may develop in course of time. The membership of the Assembly was restricted to non-officials but Officers deputed by the Government for the purpose were allowed to attend the meetings and to take part in the proceedings but without right of voting. [23] Out of this total strength not less than 150 were to be elected from rural Constituencies; and not more than 50 members were elected by the urban Constituencies; but less than 35 members were elected by the minorities and the remaining 15 and more were elected by the approved special interests. As regards distinct special groupings who were not likely to secure representation through the general electorate, *i.e.,* Muslims, Indian Christians and the depressed classes a minimum number of 15, 5 and 3 seats respectively were guaranteed. In case, these communities failed to get the required number of seats through the rural and urban constituencies, provision was made for the return of guaranteed number of members, either through recognised associations or by nomination by Government, if necessary. All other communities with 20,000 and more population who failed to obtain representation in the Assembly through the general electorate were represented in the Assembly through associations satisfying certain prescribed conditions. Power was vested in the Government to nominate a member of any community whose number is less than 20,000 if there is a justification for such a special treatment in the interest of the community. Provision was also made for nomination of members for special interests and minorities in the absence of some constituencies as recognised by the Government. By these safeguards the principle of separate communal electorate was rejected by the Government as inexpedient and unsuited to the State of Mysore. [24]

The distribution of seats amongst different constituencies was as follows:

	Seats
(i) Rural Constituencies	163
(ii) Urban Constituencies	37
(iii) Special interests	15
(iv) Minorities	35
Total	250

23. M. R. A. Manual, 1933, Part-I, p.21.
24. M. R. A. Manual, Part-I, p.61.

The duration of the Assembly was three years, however the Government by notification in the Gazette was given power to extend the period by one year.[25]

Qualifications :

As to the qualifications of the voters and candidates, the Committee's suggestion to reduce the property qualifications of voters and candidates by 50% was accepted. This entitled persons paying land revenue or rent of not less than Rs. 25/- per annum or Municipal or Mohatarfa tax of not less than Rs. 25/- per annum and persons who owned one or more Inam villages with Beriz of not less than Rs. 125/- per annum and all persons paying income tax were to be voters, and candidates. The sex disqualification was removed so as to render women eligible to vote at Representative Assembly Elections.

The qualifications in the urban Constituencies were the same as those of voters for Municipal elections in the Constituencies concerned. The voters of urban Constituencies were not entitled to vote in rural Constituencies, unless they also possessed the property or other qualifications prescribed for the rural Constituencies. Graduates and retired military persons were voters in the urban Constituencies but were not entitled to vote in rural Constituencies unless otherwise qualified. In the case of special interests and minority communities recognised by the Government for the purpose of representation in the Assembly the qualification of voters and candidates was the membership of the association or other institutions concerned. But in the case of Mysore University, only fellows were eligible to stand as candidates for the Representative Assembly. In addition to the above qualifications, a voter or candidate must be a subject by birth or domicile and should have resided in Mysore State for at least three years. Further, the following conditions were laid down to become a voter and to be returned as a candidate to the Assembly.

A person must have completed 21 years of age, and must be of sound mind; must not be undischarged insolvent or bankrupt or sentenced by a Criminal Court to imprisonment for six months or more, or convicted of an offence punishable with imprisonment for 7 years or more. He must not be a dismissed Government servant. Under the rules women and Government servants were not eligible to stand as candidates.[26]

President of the Representative Assembly :

Dewan was the Ex-Officio President of the Assembly. Members of the Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja, were Ex-Officio

25. M. R. A. Regulation—Art. 5(i).
26. R. A. Manual—Electoral Rules.

Vice-Presidents. Generally, the Dewan presided at all meetings of the Assembly. In his absence, the senior Vice-President presided at the meetings of the Assembly. Presence of not less than 75 members of the Assembly constituted the quorum for the meeting.

Powers and Functions :

Formerly the functions of the Assembly were limited to the representation of the grievances and expression of opinion on matters referred to it by the Government, discussion of the State Budget and putting interpellations. Dewan's announcement for reforms foreshadowed the grant of larger powers in respect of legislation, taxation, budget and the moving of resolutions. Three fold categories contemplated on legislative measures were of normal, exceptional and urgent matters.

Bills :

Every important legislative measure before the first reading of the bill in the Legislative Council, should ordinarily be placed on the floor of the Representative Assembly and its opinion ascertained. All legislative measures which were to be placed before the Assembly embodying the general principles of such measures may or may not be accompanied by a draft bill in each and every case. The discussion was confined to the general principles of the bills. Any member may propose an amendment to the general principles of any measure. The President had the power to disallow an amendment if it related not to general principles but to details.

In the case of bills which were of great urgency were to be placed before the Legislative Council for being passed at a single sitting by suspending the ordinary rules of business. Bills brought forward by the non-official members had to receive the sanction of the Dewan before they could be introduced in the Assembly. After discussing the general principles of a bill in the Representative Assembly the opinion of the Assembly was placed before the Legislative Council.

Resolutions :

Hitherto there was no provision for moving resolutions in the Representative Assembly. As announced by Dewan, the Assembly was given the right to move resolutions on matters relating to the Public administration as well as on the annual State budget.[27] The number of resolutions that were allowed to each district for Dasara Session were, Bangalore and Mysore Districts 4 each and other districts 3 each ; for Budget session—Bangalore and Mysore districts 2 each and other districts one each. The selection of the subjects to be brought

27. R. A. Regulation No. XVIII of 1923, Art. 12(b).

up at the Assembly was left to the meeting at District Headquarters where all the members of the Assembly residing in the district including the representatives of special interests and minorities were invited. In addition to these President was empowered to admit additional resolutions relating to special interests and minorities. The right of division was given to the Assembly on all questions on which its opinion was taken.

Interpellations :

The privilege of putting questions to Government in the form of interpellations on matters of public interest or importance was granted to the Representative Assembly in 1918: The same privilege was continued with increased number of questions subject to such conditions and restrictions which were laid down by rules framed under the New Regulation. President had the power to disallow any interpellation as not satisfying the conditions laid down and as were not in the public interest. President had the discretion to permit any member to put a supplementary question for the purpose of elucidating any matter of fact regarding which an answer had been given.[28] President had the power to admit interpellations in addition to the limit of 52, on behalf of special interests or minorities.

Representations :

The privilege of bringing up representations before the Representative Assembly on matters of public importance for consideration of Government was in vogue from the very commencement of the Assembly. This was the main characteristic feature of the Assembly. With the increase in power and status of the Assembly, Representations were likely to play a diminishing role in the proceedings of the Assembly. Hence it was found feasible to effect a reduction in number of representations. The total number of representations were limited to 180 at Dasara Session and 90 at the Budget Session. President had the power to admit representations relating to minorities or special interests. Selection of subjects was made at the district meetings at which interpellations and resolutions were selected under the Presidentship of Deputy Commissioners. The practice of presenting addresses to Dewan and President of the Assembly during Dasara Session was discontinued. However, that addresses by the whole House to His Highness the Maharaja was permitted.

Taxation :

So far, the Assembly had no recognised right of expressing its views as regards proposals for new or additional taxation although for

28. Rules of Business and Procedure, R. A., Part-IV.

sometime past Government was consulting that body on certain important taxation measures. In the New Regulation it was expressly provided that no new tax should be levied unless the opinion of the Assembly as to the levy of such tax, had been obtained by votes before hand. Any modification in course of discussion required the approval of the Assembly. In the case of new taxation involving legislation only after approval in the Assembly a bill for any new tax or enhancement of any existing tax could be introduced in the Legislative Council.

Budget :

The practice so far was to place the annual budget before the Assembly for general discussion. Under the new regulations, its power on the budget were further extended so as to include the right of moving resolutions on the budget. But such resolutions must have had reference to general principles and policy underlying the budget and not to any particular grants or appropriations included in the budget.[29] Certain items of expenditure like the Palace household and military forces, expenditure of His Highness the Maharaja ; pensions of public servants ; financial commitments arising out of the relations of the Maharaja with the Paramount power or with other States ; matters governed by treaties or conventions or agreements with paramount power ; interests on loans and charges on account of sinking funds and expenditures of which the amount was specified by or under any law, were not open to discussion and kept outside the purview of the Assembly. If any question were to arise whether any proposed appropriation of revenues relating to the above excluded subjects, the decision of Dewan-President or of the Vice-President presiding at the time was final.[30]

Legislative Council :

The Legislative Council which was established in 1907 underwent many changes. As it stood in 1919 under regulation II, the minimum and maximum number of members of the Council stood 15 and 30 respectively. The reforms committee recommended that exclusive of the Ex-Officio members the strength of the Council be fixed at 50. According to the Regulation 1923 and the rules framed thereunder, out of the total of 50 not less than 60% comprised non-official members, and the remaining were official members nominated by the Government. Out of the non-official members not less than two-thirds were elected by the Mysore Representative Assembly and by the urban, rural and non-territorial Constituencies and the remaining members were nominated by the Government for giving representation to special interests and

29. R. A. Regulation—XVIII, 1923. Art. 11
30. Ibid, Art. 11. (2)

minorities or for any other cause.[31] The number of members returned by the Representative Assembly was eight. In the case of special interests where election was not possible, Government was given power to nominate a member to represent such special interest. Further, in addition to the number fixed, the Government had the privilege to nominate not more than two persons for a particular period, for the purpose of any bill introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Council, having special knowledge or experience of the subject matter of the bill.

The distribution of seats among the different constituencies was as follows:

Members—50 excluding ex-officio members

Elected members–22		Nominated members–28	
		Officials	Non-Officials
(a) Elected by urban Constituencies of Bangalore and Mysore (one each)	2	20	8
(b) Elected by rural Constituencies of 8 districts (one each)	8		
(c) Elected by Representative Assembly	8		
(d) Elected representatives of special interests (non-territorial constituencies)			
Mysore University	1		
Commerce and Trade	1		
Planting	1		
Labour	1		

Among the elected, eight were from the Representative Assembly voting as a whole without any restriction as to the candidates representing particular district or division. Of the constituencies representing special interests, the fellows of the Mysore University and Registered Graduates of not less than seven years standing constituted the Mysore University constituency. The members of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Associations, represented the interests of Commerce and Trade. The Planters constituency composed of owners of estates of not less than 50 acres under Coffee, Tea, Cardamum or rubber.

Labour was represented by one member, pending formation of a proper electorate, nominated by the Government. As regards eight seats reserved for nomination of non-officials, securing representation of depressed classes, child and women welfare, minorities and education, was kept in view. In respect of minorities, a minimum of two seats was guaranteed to Muslims in the event of no Mohamaden

31. M. L. C. Regulation, No. XIX, 1923, Sec. 4 (3).

was returned by election. Two out of eight seats were filled up by nomination of two Mohamaden representatives deputed by recognised associations. If one Mohamaden was returned by election the nomination was confined to the remaining one only. Similarly, on the same principle one seat each was guaranteed to Indian Christians and depressed classes.[32] Thus under the new regulations the elected 22 non-officials and nominated 8 non-officials ensured a clear majority of non-officials in the Legislative Council.

Qualifications of Voters and Candidates :

Under the previous rules the qualifications of voters to the Legislative Council and Representative Assembly were identical. In view of difference in functions and the powers of the two bodies, the Reforms Committee recommended that the franchise should be different and further the Committee was of the opinion that while in respect of the Representative Assembly there need be no difference in the qualifications of voters and candidates but in the case of Legislative Council qualifications of candidates should be higher than those of voters. In confirmity with these views, rules were framed by the Government regarding the qualifications and disqualifications of voters, candidates and members in connection with the several constituencies of the Legislative Council.[33]

Rural Voters :

(i) Every person who is a registered occupant of the land paying a land revenue of Rs. 50/- per annum or who pays annually Mohatarfa tax or Municipal tax of not less than Rs. 10/- ;

(ii) Every person who is the owner of one or more Inam villages with a total Beriz of Rs. 250/- per annum and who ordinarily resides in the district ;

(iii) Every graduate of a University who ordinarily resides in the Constituency ;

(iv) Every person who is retired and pensioned Officer of the Mysore State Troops ;

(v) Every person who pays income tax to Government was eligible to vote.[34]

Urban Voters :

The qualifications of the voters in these Constituencies were the

32. Proceedings of the Government of Mysore, No. 1367-1426—C. B. 100-23-1 dated 27th October, 1923.

33. M. L. C. Manual, Vol. I, Part-II, Para 40, pp.123, 124.

34. Ibid.

same as those of rural Constituencies, except that. in respect of property qualifications laid down for voters at Municipal elections.

Qualifications of Candidates :

(i) Every person who is the registered occupant of land assessed to land revenue of not less than Rs. 50/- per annum ;

(ii) Who is Kadim tenant paying an annual rent of not less than Rs. 50/- per annum to the holder of an alienated village ; OR

(iii) Who pays annually Mohatarfa tax or Municipal tax of not less than Rs. 10/- ;

(iv) Every person who is the owner of one or more entire Inam villages with a total Beriz of Rs. 250/- per annum and who ordinarily resides in the district ;

(v) Every graduate of an Indian or English University of not less than ten years standing who has been resident in the constituency for at least three years previous to the date of election ;

(vi) Persons paying an Income tax of Rs. 100/- and above, were eligible to be candidates. [35]

As regards the candidates representing special interests and Representative Assembly, the qualification was the membership of the body returning the candidate. [36]

Thus qualifications prescribed for the electors to the Legislative Council were twice as high as those of the voters to the Representative Assembly. Even a little higher qualifications were fixed for the candidates.

Duration :

Every Legislative Council constituted under the New Regulation was to be for a period of three years from the date of its first meeting. However, the Government had power to extend the term by an official notification for a period not exceeding one year. From the date of the dissolution of the Council the next session was to be convened within six months. [37]

Dewan was the ex-officio President of the Council and he could fix the place and time of the meeting of the Council. In the absence of the President, the senior ex-officio member present presided at the meetings of the Council. All questions before the Council were determined by a majority of votes of the members present and voting.

35. Ibid, Part-III, Para 48, p. 88.
36. Ibid—Para 49, p.88.
37. M. L. C. Regulation, 1923, Art. 5 (i & ii).

In case of a tie, presiding Officer had a casting vote. President had power to adjourn any meeting of the Council.[38]

Powers of the Legislative Council :

Although other powers and functions were assigned to the Council after it was established, Legislation still remained the main function of the Legislative Council. Under the New Regulation, it possessed full powers of legislation on all matters other than those specifically kept outside its jurisdiction. The list of excluded subjects were also curtailed so as to bring within the purview of the Council of all matters pertaining to the internal administration of the State. The subjects excluded were those relating to the royal family, imperial relations and changes in the Constitution of the State. Section 9 of the Council regulation of 1923 lists the excluded subjects as follows :

(a) The ruling family of Mysore ;

(b) The relations of His Highness the Maharaja with the paramount power or with the foreign Princes of States ;

(c) Matters governed by treaties, conventions and agreements then in force or thereafter to be made by the Maharaja with paramount power ;

(d) The provisions of the Legislative Council Act ;

(e) The provisions of the Representative Assembly Act ;

(f) Such other matters as may from time to time be specifically reserved by His Highness the Maharaja for consideration by the Government.

In all matters thus excluded from the purview of the Council the Government were empowered as before to frame such measures as are necessary and temporary emergent regulations for a period of six months on matters falling within the scope of the Council and submit them for the assent of the Maharaja.[39]

The prerogative of the Maharaja to make laws independently of the Council which was all along implicit, was expressly affirmed in the Statute.[40]

The reforms Committee did not propose any material change or modification in the present position and powers of the Council in respect of legislation. The suggestion of the Committee to keep the amendment of the Constitution outside the competence of the Legislative Council was accepted. Since the matters affecting the Constitution, powers and privileges of the Legislative Council and Representative Assembly were

38. Ibid, Art. 7.
39. Ibid, Art. 12.
40. Ibid, Art. 16.

kept outside the scope of the Council, changes in the constitution were possible only by means of a proclamation or regulation promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja independently of the Council.

As to the suggestion made by the Committee to empower the Government to frame regulations, independently of the Council, for the safety and tranquility of the State, it was considered unnecessary to reserve any special powers to the Government in respect of measure that would be required for the safety and tranquility of the State, in view of the co-operation extended by the Council and the sense of responsibility which has been characterised its deliberations in the past. However, in the event that the measures approved by the Council were considered inadequate for the due discharge of their responsibilities the dead-lock thus created could be removed by the exercise by the Maharaja of his inherent powers to frame laws independently of the Council. The Government was empowered to frame any bill required for an emergency if such bill is assented by His Highness the Maharaja. It had the same force as regulation passed through the Council for a period of six months from its promulgation in the Official Gazette.[41]

Budget :

The most important feature contemplated in connection with the scheme of legislative development was in respect of the powers and position of the Legislative Council in matters of State budget. The privilege of discussing the State budget, subject to certain conditions, was given to the Legislative Council in 1914. It was only a general discussion without any power to propose resolutions on it. The right of making interpellations was conceded in 1917. But the number of questions were limited to 20 only. The right of moving resolutions was given in the year 1919 which were in the nature of recommendations, and not more than 12 resolutions were allowed at any session of the Council. Thus the Legislative Council so far acted as advisory legislative body with limited functions. In the Dewan's announcement for constitutional reforms it was stated that the Legislative Council would be given the power of voting on the annual State budget by major heads in respect of all items of expenditure except those affecting the Palace, the Military, the pensions of public servants and the relations of the State with the British Government under the treaty, with the proviso that if the Council rejects a provision in the budget or reduces it, it would be competent to Government to restore the provision if they considered it necessary for the carrying on of any department.[42]

The grant of right to vote on State budget to the Legislative Council was a measure of far-reaching importance and particularly

41. Ibid, Art. 12.

42. Dewan's announcement in R.A., dated 7-10-1922.

significant in the development of legislative control over finance, since voting on a grant had a binding effect on the Government which can be annulled only under exceptional circumstances by the exercise of a specific power by the Government for a definite reason. Further, voting by major heads imposed an important limitation on the Government's powers of re-appropriation of sanctioned expenditure. Since the grants were sanctioned by the Council under major heads re-appropriation by the Government from one major head to another was no longer permissible. The Legislative Council with its statutory non-official majority was expected to exercise a large measure of control over the financial policy of the Government.

A Step Forward :

Moreover, the power extended to the Council in bringing under its control the salaries of all classes of public servants for its voting constituted not only a major departure in Council's control over financial policy and administration but an improvization compared with the corresponding provisions of the Government of India Act which kept salaries as well as pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State, as non-votable.

Provision was also made in the new regulation enabling Government, in cases of emergency to authorise expenditure considered necessary for safety and tranquility of the State or for discharge of Government's responsibility without submitting it to the vote of the Council.[43]

Resolutions :

As already stated, the members of the Legislative Council were given the right to move resolutions subject to the condition that no member can move more than one resolution at any session of the Council, and not more than twelve resolutions at any session in all. In the previous years the number of resolutions brought before the Council at any session hardly exceeded the maximum number fixed. This was due to the fact that the resolutions were not binding on the Government as they were in the nature of recommendations. Further, all matters of general interest were brought up in the Representative Assembly alone as Representations and were fully represented. Nevertheless, with enlargement of functions and composition of the Council in terms of non-official members, the old rule under which a member was allowed to bring up not more than one resolution at any session was retained thereby raising the maximum number of resolutions at any session of the Council to thirty.

43. Legislative Council Regulation, 1923, Sec. 13 (1) (a) (b).

Interpellations :

The right of asking questions in the form of interpellations on matters of public importance was granted to the members of the Legislative Council in 1914. In 1915, the privilege of putting supplementary questions for elucidating information was permitted. Since the interpellations served a useful measure in exercising a sobering influence on the Government, the total number of questions answered at a session was raised to 20 under the new regulation. Every member was allowed to put not more than two questions, thereby raised the maximum number of interpellations to sixty at any session of the Council.

Merits of the Reforms :

However the criticisms already referred to the reforms should not overshadow the merits of the reforms introduced in 1923. These reforms clearly marked the initiation of a constitutional Government in Mysore. No doubt the measures embodied in the reforms were of a transitory character but it is this transitory character which was not realised in many criticisms describing the reforms as unsatisfactory and unprogressive. The object of the reforms was specifically stated as the association of the people more and more with the Government and increasing of the popular element in the administration.

(ii) It is true that the Legislative Council and Representative Assembly were not likely to grow into two Houses of a bi-cameral Legislature with equal powers and functions. The Assembly as a popular House must necessarily develop to a position of commanding influence and power. The Legislative Council was to be a body of elder statesmen-experts, and men of experience in public affairs to give form and expression, in legislative enactments and to the mandates of the Assembly. [44]

(iii) Undoubtedly, the reforms constituted an improvement on the representative and legislative bodies so far existed in Mysore. Direct election was introduced in the place of indirect and secondary election. The qualification of the voters to the Representative Assembly were reduced considerably thereby extending the franchise to larger section of the population. Women were given the right to vote for the first time which meant influencing the policies substantially as these voters formed a good chunk of the electorate.

(iv) In the legislative process, the right of putting supplementary questions, the privilege of voting on the budget and tabling adjournment motions, moving resolutions were important gains to the legislative bodies for exercising control over the executive part of the Government.

44. B. N. Seal Committee Report, p.229.

(v) Instituting the standing advisory committees and bodies to help scientific legislation with expert knowledge in their respective field of legislation was a novel innovation and placing these bodies on the statutes served better aid to administration and legislation. This was considered as an outstanding character of the new polity.[45]

(vi) The Representative Assembly, with a creditable record of forty years of useful work, emerged as a stronger, well-defined constitutional body which was in harmony with the sentiments and traditions of the country and the genius of the people. It took a definite and more important place in the body politic of Mysore State not merely because its constitution was based on statute but because of its functions, powers and responsibilities.

(vii) The members of the House were returned by an electorate four times as large as by direct election. While majority of members represented territorial constituencies, there were also new representatives of minority and special interests under a well-regulated system of election through recognised associations. The result of all these changes, judging from the constituent element which formed the new Assembly, was considered satisfactory. The new members were not mere representatives but were expected to exercise definite functions in respect of legislation, administration and finance.

Inauguration of Reconstituted Houses :

Inaugurating the reconstituted Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV stated, "Representing an enlarged electorate, you have been returned under a wider franchise, in true sense than ever before, and you have far greater opportunities of influencing the decisions of Government in accordance with popular demands. The changes which I am inaugurating to-day are fundamental, providing as they do for a far closer association of the representatives of the people with the administration and affording a freer outlet for their natural and legitimate aspirations than seemed possible a few years ago. You will use your new powers to strengthen all the beneficient activities in the country to spread education, to diffuse knowledge and to foster the civic virtues and the spirit of social service.[46]

Speaking on the role of the representatives, His Highness stated 'You must keep in close touch with the Government and the people and interpret one to the other. In this way, may we hope that the long silence of the depressed and the humble will be broken and full responsibility for their well-being shouldered by the educated and well-to-do classes'. Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar who had evinced keen

45. Legislative Council Manual, Part-III, p.128.

46. Speeches of Krishnaraja Wadiyar, Address to Joint Session, 12-3-1924.

interest in the progress of the State and his people gave expression that 'it is the ambition of my life to see the people of the State develop self-sustaining qualities, exhibit initiative and enterprise and take a front rank in all progressive movements and activities in the country'. [47]

The reformed Legislative Council met on 4th April, 1924 under the Presidentship of Dewan Albion R. Mukerjee and passed the Mysore Court Fee Regulations as an emergent measure. It met again on 23rd June, 1924 for discussion of the budget and continued its sittings for eight days. In exercise of its power to vote on the budget the Council discussed as many as fifty six cut motions but most of them were withdrawn after discussion. Further, leave to introduce nine bills was granted by the Council, the most important of which were to amend the Muzarai, the factories and the Press Regulations. [48]

The budget session of the reconstituted Representative Assembly met on 9th June, 1924 and the general principles of the budget were carefully discussed in the Assembly for more than two days and several useful suggestions were made to the Government both in the course of general discussion and the resolutions on the budget. The Government consulted the Assembly in regard to nine bills under their consideration and secured the approval of the Assembly to the general principles thereof. Interpellations were asked by the members on a number of important subjects like education, agriculture, medical relief, public health and supplementary questions were also put to elicit more information on many issues.

The Assembly exercised its new power of moving resolutions on matters of public importance for the first time. The agenda for the session included the consideration of one hundred and five representations but for want of time only five of the more important representations were taken up and the Government promised to examine the rest and take suitable action. [49]

Thus the Mysore State which had a record of solid progress in the past behind it was adjusting itself to the new conditions created by the constitutional reforms. The popular voice was making itself more felt in the Government of the country and the mutual adaptation between the Government and the Governed was a matter of everyday concern to both. Amidst these conditions the administration of the year marked the beginning of the new era.

47. Speeches of Krishnaraja Wadiyar, op. cit.
48. Legislative Council Proceedings, April 1924.
49. R. A. Proceedings—June 1924, p. 220.

Chapter VI

Constitutional Reforms of 1939

Constitutional Reforms of 1939 :

In recommending the constitutional reforms the Seal Committee kept in view, in addition to abstract principles of political philosophy, as applicable to Mysore, the actualities and needs of the social and political institutions which dominated the form of polity in Mysore. These proposals initiated only the first instalment of the association of the people and their true representatives in the Government which was to be ever increasing. Such a move for the improvement of the association of more and more people was made three years after the new regulations were introduced.

Anomaly Removed :

In the July session of the Legislative Council of 1924, Mr. Abbas Khan, elected from the Representative Assembly, tabled a resolution in the Council to reduce the property qualification of the voters and the candidates for the Legislative Council in the rural constituencies by fifty per cent so as to bring them in uniformity with those fixed for voters and candidates for the Representative Assembly.[1]

Again in 1925, at the October session of the Representative Assembly, Mr. Abbas Khan on behalf of himself and other two members of the Assembly moved a common resolution to the same effect pleading that the preparation of two different lists of voters for the two bodies though the elections were held at one and the same place and at one and the same time led to confusion and the voters in the one case were dissatisfied at being held ineligible to vote in the other case. It was stated that if real representatives of the people should come into the Constitutional bodies, franchise had to be substantially extended. After all, man paying an assessment of Rs. 25/- was no less anxious to serve the people and the country than one who paid Rs. 50. They were

1. L.C. Proceedings, Res. No. 6, July 1924.

equally patriotic and responsible. Another anomaly pointed out in the existing qualification was that a man paying an assessment of Rs. 25/- could not stand for election to the Legislative Council; but he could be elected to the Representative Assembly from which body the same person could be elected to the Legislative Council. Further, that no such qualification was prescribed in the case of elections from the Associations. This resolution was accepted by the Government and given effect to the same and the qualifications of the candidates to the Council remaining unchanged.

Removal of Sex Disqualification:

In February, 1927 Mr. M. Abbas Khan moved a resolution stoutly supported by a good number of members in the Legislative Council for removing the disqualification on women standing for election to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. Mr. Abbas Khan with great ability advocated this great privilege to women, on the ground that the government had recognised this principle in respect of local bodies, such as District Boards and University Senate. In the course of the discussion he drew the attention of the House to the example set by Madras Legislative Council where not only was a lady nominated as a candidate but was also unanimously elected as Deputy President of that august body.[2] Even the Seal Committee thought of including it under its reforms but under the terms of reference it was outside their purview. After a prolonged but a lively debate in the Council, the resolution was finally accepted by the Council enabling women to stand for election to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council.[3] On the recommendation of the Committee which was constituted in the year 1926, the franchise was extended to title holders for both the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council.

Re-distribution of Seats:

Representations were made to the Government, after the reforms of 1923 were given effect to, for increase in the number of seats, particularly in case of certain rural constituencies. A new taluk was constituted in Mysore district with Maddur as Headquarters and this was to be recognised as a rural constituency. This rendered necessary a revision of the seats allowed to the several constituencies and the various units and interests. As it stood, the classification of taluks for the purpose of allocation of seats was made in 1919 on the basis of land revenue demand and secondarily on the ground of area, population and

2. L.C. Proceedings, February 1927, Res. No. 20, P.224.
3. Ibid.

other considerations. Later, it was a question for consideration whether the classification cannot be made with population as the primary basis.[4]

Review Committee :

A Committee appointd in 1932 to review the existing distribution of seats of Representative Assembly and to examine certain other questions referred to it, had proposed in its report that the number of seats to be given to a taluk or sub-taluk should depend upon its population, however consideration was to be shown to Malnad taluks on account of their remoteness. The Committee also proposed some re-adjustment in the number of seats allotted to special interests and recommended the increase in number of seats guaranteed to Muslims from 15 to 18 and those of depressed classes from six to ten, the seats for women to be increased from two to four.

The Committee proposed that taluks with a population of one lakh to be allotted three seats, those having a population between 50,000 and one lakh two seats and those having a population below 50,000 one seat. The Committee also recommended for the introduction of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote for election from Representative Assembly to Legislative Council and for the election of Representative Assembly members from the City constituencies of Bangalore and Mysore. All these proposals excepting that relating to the increase in the number of seats to be reserved for the depressed classes, were accepted by the Government and given effect to them. [5]

Status of the Assembly :

Under the existing provisions, the Representative Assembly served as constituency to elect eight members to the Legislative Council. The two houses designed under the regulation were not to form part of a composite bicameral legislature, but were more or less independent bodies, with defined functions of their own. Representative Assembly by sending representatives to the Legislative Council, would more or less lose, to some extent its independent and original character and come under the leading strings of the Legislative Council. Further, the system of indirect election of members to the Legislative Council had not produced the results which was originally expected of it, *viz.*, that it might reflect the various shades of opininon in the country. And that the results of the elections during the previous twelve years had disclosed that the two cities of Bangalore and Mysore got a representation of about six members out of eight members

4. R.A. Proceedings, June. 1934 p.84.
5. R.A. Proceedings, October 1932, p.10.

returned by Representative Assembly. The result was that the cities got a preponderance of seats under the system. With a view to remedy this anomaly, a Committee was appointed in 1935 to enquire inter-alia into the desirability of retaining the Representative Assembly as a constituency of returning members to the Legislative Council.

Membership Restricted :

The Committee recommended that the Assembly should not any longer serve as an electorate for the Legislative Council and that the eight seats thus withdrawn from the Representative Assembly should be distributed among the eight districts of the State. The Committee further recognised that there were obvious advantages in restricting the membership of the representatives to one House only. This was in accordance with the practice of British India where no person could be a member of both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of States or of the Provincial or Imperial bodies.

The Committee were of the opinion that the experience had shown that the legislative business was impeded by the necessity to place a statement of the general principles of proposed bill before the Representative Assembly in the first instance. It was viewed that whenever it was found necessary by the Government, a bill might be first introduced in the Legislative Council and its general principles placed before the Representative Assembly at the earliest opportunity but before the final passing of the Bill. These proposals were accepted by the Government and the necessary amendments were made in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council Regulations of 1923.

Reformed Houses at work :

The importance and the extent of influence exercised by the two houses on the government had been indicated in the working of the reformed constitutional regulations. In the field of legislation, 150 bills initiated by the Government since 1924 were passed into law upto the end of 1938. Of these the general principles of 139 were placed before the Assembly in the form of statements as required by the regulation and opinion of the Assembly thereon were ascertained before their introduction in the Legislative Council. As regards, the remaining 11 bills, owing to their urgency, the Government, in exercise of powers which vested in them till 1936 of introducing the bill in such cases without previous consultation of the Assembly, introduced them into the Legislative Council, and they were passed into law.

Of the 139 bills on which the Assembly was consulted on the general principles, 16 were not approved by it, but the Government deemed it necessary to proceed with them further. They were therefore taken up to the Legislative Council and passed into law in due course. Among

the bills thus thrown out by the Assembly and yet passed into law were bills to amend the Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code in regard to the suppression of the circulation of traffic in obscene publications, the Agriculturists' Relief Bill, the Contempt of Courts Bill, the Irrigation Bill, the Bills relating to the development of the Sugar Industry, the Levy of Excise duty on Sugar, Road Traffic and Taxes and the removal of Religious and Caste Disabilities. The verdict of the Assembly in respect of 21 bills which were rejected by it, was accepted by the Government, with the result that the bills were not proceeded with further. The more important of these bills were those dealing with election offences and inquiries, and for preventing and controlling the spread of contagious diseases. All the 150 bills initiated by the Government were considered and passed by the Legislative Council and no measure was rejected by the Council at any time.

Private Members' Bills :

Three private members' bills were brought up before the Legislative Council. The first was a bill for restraining the solemnisation of child marriages. The Council refused leave to introduce it. The other two bills were, one for suppression of immoral traffic in the State, and the other for the removal of legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows. Both of them were approved by the Assembly, and later passed by the Legislative Council and became law.

Legislation on Resolutions passed :

The privilege of moving resolutions was often used by the members of the Assembly for urging the necessity of initiating legislation in respect of certain matters. In all, twelve such resolutions were passed in the Assembly, and legislation was actually undertaken in pursuance of four of them. These were the Agriculturists' Relief Act, an Act for the removal of legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows, and an Act for the suppression of immoral traffic in the State. Two resolutions were passed for the prevention of Cow-slaughter by legislation. The question was examined by a Committee appointed by the Government in 1926. Further, a resolution of 1926 and subsequent resolutions on the subject of appointing a Committee for the reform of Hindu Law led to the appointment by the Government in 1929 of a Committee to examine the question of improving the position of women under the Hindu law of Inheritance. Legislation was undertaken in the light of the Committee's recommendations and resulted in Act-X of 1933. The prevention of beggary in the State was the subject matter of a resolution in October session of 1928. But, the matter was not pursued further as the provisions of Section 56 of the Police Act penalising the importunate street begging was considered sufficient for the purpose.

In respect of resolutions passed by the Assembly about the prohibition of the slaughter of animals during *Jatras*, the enabling of members of every community to take out processions in all public streets irrespective of mamool or custom, the abolishion of untouchability in the State, and the empowering of the High Court to issue writs of *Mandamus, Certiorari* and *Habeas Corpus*, no immediate action was considered necessary.

Legislation on excluded subjects :

In respect of legislation on subjects excluded from the purview of the two Houses, two measures affecting the Constitution were passed into law in 1936. They were the Acts XI and XII of 1936 amending the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council Regulations XVIII and XIX of 1923 respectively, and were intended to give effect to the constitutional changes recommended by the Committee appointed in 1935.

Emergent Legislation :

The powers vested in the Government to frame provisional emergent acts were exercised in respect of four measures. The first was Act I of 1926, the Cotton Excise Duty Suspension Act, which was akin to the corresponding British Indian Statute passed in that year and was intended to bring Mysore in line with British India in respect of abolition of the Cotton Excise Duty. The second was the Italian Loans and Credits Prohibition Act II of 1936, and the other two were the Match Excise Duty Act VII of 1937, which were designed to give effect to the agreement with the Government of India in respect of those two duties. All the four emergent Acts were later passed by the Legislative Council and placed permanently on the Statute book.

The most significant fact to reckon with was that the special powers of the Maharaja to reserve to himself any class of subjects by withdrawing them from the purview of the Council, and also his prerogative to make laws independently of the Council in matters falling within the purview of the Council were not at any time exercised since the inception of the Council.

Interpellations :

The methods provided in the Regulations to exercise control over the Government by the two houses were also of immense use. The right of asking questions in the form of interpellations was freely exercised by the members in an increasing measure to elicit information with regard to matters relating to the administration of the State. The total number of interpellations in the year 1924 was 93 in the

Representative Assembly and 104 in the Legislative Council and they stood in 1938 at 141 and 181 respectively.

Resolutions :

Passing of resolutions was a popular method of influencing the Government on the floor of the House. During the period under review, the total number of resolutions discussed in the Assembly was 362, out of which 181 were withdrawn after discussion. Of the remainder one hundred were passed, sixty one were accepted by the Government and twenty were rejected by the Assembly.

In the Legislative Council, one hundred seventy eight resolutions came up before the Council, of which one hundred thirty were withdrawn with or without discussion, twenty two were accepted by the Government, thirteen with and nine without modifications. Of the twenty six divisions taken in the Council, nineteen were in favour of the Government and seven were against it. The subject matter of the resolutions in both the Houses ranged over the entire sphere of the administration and social activities in the State. The largest number of resolutions on any single subject dealt with by the Assembly related to education. Next in order came resolutions relating to salaries and services, communal representation in services, land revenue, irrigation, medical relief and local self-Government.

Main Subjects :

Topics of special importance dealt in the resolutions in the Legislative Council were introduction of Kannada as the medium of instruction in all high schools, an enquiry into the economic conditions of all classes of people, the compulsory levy of education cess, the construction of electric tramways in Bangalore, the employment of local talent in all appointments of trust and responsibility in State Railways, the introduction of legislation to oblige industrial concerns with a capital of Rs. five lakhs and above, to give training to Graduates, the increasing of the number of primary schools by 5,000 on a five year programme, the empowering of the local bodies to launch criminal prosecution for non-payment of taxes due to them, the enhancement of the grant for the scholarships to the students of the backward and depressed classes, and the abolition of the Central Recruitment Board, and representation of Anglo-Indian and domiciled communities in the Representative Assembly.

Representations :

Representations were a characteristic and distinctive features of the Assembly. Since 1924, the number of representations sent up from the sessions of the Assembly ranged between 200 and 300. The total number

of representations that came up for discussion in the Assembly was 1594. Action was taken by the Government wherever practicable. A report of the action taken by the Government was circulated to the members of the Assembly after each session.

Financial Powers :

With regard to financial powers, the Representative Assembly freely made use of its powers of passing resolutions on the budget and most of them, wherever possible and practicable were accepted by the Government and given effect to. No motion moved in the Legislative Council to omit or reduce any grant or items in a grant was carried.

Cut motions are normally moved to raise a discussion on the policy of a department or to draw the attention of the Government to any matter related to the object of the grant. The number of cut-motions tabled were 2469, which were either not moved or were withdrawn after discussion, with the exception of a very few motions which were pressed to a division and lost. No occasion arose calling for the exercise of the special powers vested in the Government for restoring a rejected or a reduced demand.

Standing Advisory Committees :

To bring about a close rapport between the Government and the people, a few Advisory Committees—one in connection with the railways, electrical and public works departments, another for the local self-Government, department of medicine, sanitation and public health, and third one in connection with finance and taxation, were constituted to aid the administration as well as legislation. Each of the standing Committees consisted of six members, of whom four were members of Representative Assembly and remaining two were drawn from the Legislative Council, elected by the non-official members.

The members of the Executive Council in charge of the departments to which the Committee related was the Chairman of each Committee. The functions of the Committees were purely advisory and their proceedings were confidential. These Committees served a useful purpose, not only in providing a training for selected members of the two Houses by giving them an insight into the details of actual working of administration, but also by making their knowledge and experience available to the Government. The Committee on Public Accounts supervised and scrutinised the expenditure of the State and submitted its observations to the Legislative Council.

Local Self-Government :

The devolution in respect of local self-Government was also

extensive. The District Boards, as reconstituted by the Act of 1926, were given the privilege of electing their own Presidents. The local bodies were given the power to administer the Primary education as local education authorities. In actual working of Taluk Boards which were established in 1923, were found to possess no adequate resources to do any useful work. On the recommendation of the local self-Government Conference, the Taluk Boards were abolished in 1927.

Village Panchayats :

A Village Panchayat for each village or group of villages was established with separate resources for meeting their vital needs. The local administration was revitalised in reviving the Panchayats by the Act of 1926. There were 11,843 Village Panchayats with a membership of 88,901. Out of these as many as 485 had elected Chairmen. Selected Panchayat were entrusted with powers under the *Village Courts* and the *Tank Panchayat* Regulation. To enable Panchayats to function efficiently they were given powers to levy certain taxes. Thus these local bodies contributed in a large measure to the process of rural reconstruction.

Political Progress :

The period that intervened between the constitutional changes of 1923 and the constitution of a Committee to examine further reforms in 1938, was marked by a slow but a steady progress of political advancement in the State. The Assembly and the Council under Regulations of 1923 provided a frame-work within which leaders could gather on a regular basis for airing the grievances of the people to the Government. It offered an arena within which the urban and rural leading men could develop friendship with their counterparts and eventually a sense of fellowship based on similar interests and sentiments. The significance of the Assembly in the political evolution of Mysore was that the leaders from the districts and taluks had begun to establish a sense of participation in the Statewide arena of politics. If the period between 1918-1928 witnessed the emergence of intense consciousness among non-brahmins, the decade that passed between 1928-1938 saw the gradual decline of communal forces fecilitating their merger in the national main stream.

Sir Mirza Ismail :

Sir Albion Rajakumar Banerjee retired as Dewan in 1926, and was succeeded by Sir Mirza Ismail who continued in office for nearly fifteen years with distinction. He was instrumental in achieving commendable progress in administration and development of the State. But in political matters he became controversial and which resulted in agitations now and then. The appointment of Mirza Ismail was to seal

the administration off from outside influences. In his personal dealing with those outside the bureaucracy, Mirza Ismail seemed to have cleverly disguised this with fulsome assurance of his sympathy for the non-brahmin cause. [6] The Maharaja and the Dewan began to work on several progressive measures in the interest of the State and welfare of the people. Dewan's troubles started in the year 1928 with Bangalore disturbances. Most politically conscious Brahmins in Mysore harboured resentment over the Miller Committee concession to non-brahmins in State services and education. This dissatisfaction had not found expression in overt political action until the appointment of Mirza Ismail. The ill-feeling of many Brahmins was coloured by anti-muslim feelings and it was in this form that Mirza Ismail's difficulties arose. [7]

Ganesha Disturbances :

A sulky protest came from a section of the people which resulted in emotional outburst when Maharaja permitted Dewan to sit along with him in the HOWDA during the Dasara procession at Mysore in October, 1927. This incident sparked off bitter feelings between Hindus and Muslims which served as prelude to the Bangalore disturbances popularly known as Ganesha Disturbances. A section of the people who harboured ill-will against Mirza Ismail, were waiting to take full advantage of this volatile atmosphere in an attempt to make Mirza Ismail unpopular in the eyes of the people.

Thus, in July, 1928 glamourous ceremonies were organised among the school boys in honour of *Ganapathi* in the Sulthanpet Middle School yard, opposite the house of Mr. M. Abbas Khan, a prominent Muslim leader who was also then the President of the Bangalore Municipal Council and who was considered to be a close associate of Mirza Ismail. It was assumed that Mr. Abbas Khan seemed to have used his influence on the Government to have the idol of Ganesha removed from the school precincts. This ill-considered act was advertised by some interested people as an insult to Hindus as the Ganesha festival was considered not only a common religious function for all Hindus but had acquired some national and patriotic sentiments in Western parts of India. Student processions were taken out through the main streets of Bangalore protesting against the incident. The arrest of some persons on 29th July, 1928 inflamed the situation. On 30th July, a mob of several thousand, mainly students, surrounded the Central Jail and the Dewan's residence which was nearby. Dewan agreed to meet the crowd to explain the facts in the nearby park, but on the way to this meeting his Car was stoned and seriously damaged. When the Police proved ineffective to control the mob, the Mysore

6. J. Manor, op.cit., p.62.
7. Ibid.

Cavalry was called out. Then followed an indescribable scene, batches of horses tearing down at full speed upon surging, seething sea of shouting young boys and students..... some of the wounded were small boys bleeding profusely and the sight was very tragic. This incident marred the harmony between Hindus and Muslims particularly the informal allience between Muslims and non-Brahmin Hindu politicians.[8]

Dewan became nervous :

From now onwards Dewan became alert and began to play safe either in dealing with non-brahmin political leaders or Brahmin zealots. The non-brahmin leaders began to realise that Ganesha disturbances had frightened Dewan so much that he was no longer prepared to deal fairly with them to give effect to the policy laid down under Miller Committee Report. Hereafter, non-brahmins began to think of organizing themselves on a wider range than the petitioning style of Praja Mitra Mandali for political action. It was in this background that a non-brahmin Conference was organised to form a new Political Party with liberal outlook and to bring about a healthy change in the body politic of Mysore. The Bangalore disturbances had a damaging effect on the popularity of Mirza Ismail. A section of the public even demanded his resignation from Dewanship. To restore confidence among the people, Government appointed a Committee with Sir M. Visvesvaraya as Chairman to enquire into the circumstances of disturbances and also to make suitable recommendations to prevent the occurance of such incidents in future.

Visvesvaraya Enquiry Committee :

The political situation that prevailed in Mysore on the eve of the disturbances was indicated in the report. The Committee grouped the causes behind the disturbances under three heads: (i) Communal differences, (ii) unemployment, (iii) political discontent. As regards political discontent they stated, that it was a reflex of events in British India and fluid situation in Mysore. "On account of the facilities of rapid communication and interchange of thoughts the people of the State are easily affected by the Political movements in British India. The strike and the *sathyagraha* of the boys of Sulthanpet school were but reflex of the *sathyagraha* which was in progress on a large scale in the Bardoli taluk of Bombay province, during the whole of time the student agitation was carried on in Bangalore."

The remedy for malcontentment, the Committee stated, 'Either the State should have the Government of the Mussolini type, keeping the people intensely engaged in building up business and property or a regular constitutional monarchy approaching the British model in which

8. J. Manor, op. cit., p.64.

the responsibility for the amelioration of the people is thrown for the most part on the people themselves. It will not be possible to maintain the first named type of Government at a high level of efficiency for any length of time, or to have a Mussolini at the head of affairs. The safer and more common alternative is to introduce a party system of Government and divide the politicians representing the constituencies into two classes such as conservatives and progressive instead of the present classification of Brahmins and non-Brahmins'.

National Hartal :

Along the side of British India, political stir also started in Mysore. In early 1928, the Simon Commission visited India to enquire into the working of the Government of India Act 1919 and to report on the feasibility of further political concessions. People of British India protested and boycotted the Commission. It had an echo in Mysore. Resolutions were passed condemning the Commission, public meetings were held to criticise composition of the Commission. Friday the 3rd February, 1928 was observed as a national *Hartal* on account of the landing of the Simon Commission in Bombay.

Walk out :

Another incident which is indicative of the discontent among the people of Mysore was the walk out staged by Mr. D. S. Mallappa in the Representative Assembly. D. S. Mallappa, a respected leader of the non-Brahmin group confronted the Government with some supplementary questions and demanded the replies as his right, for which the Government was stubborn.[10] In protest he staged a walk out followed by several members without distinction of their affiliation as the incident involved the right of the members of the Assembly. For the first time both Brahmins and non-Brahmins found a common cause in open on the floor of the Representative Assembly.[11] The Bangalore disturbances was an indication of the popular agitation spreading around along with the increase of national ideas among the people of Mysore. The reaction of the Government to the report of the Bangalore disturbances Enquiry Committee was not favourable. On the question of constitutional reforms, Dewan's attitude was that 'the Government did not stand still and there had been no question of wringing reforms from an unwilling Government'.

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9. Bangalore Disturbances Enquiry Committee Report, 1928, p.138.
10 P. R. Ramaya, op. cit., p.42.
11. R.A. Proceedings, June 1928, p.55.
11a. Ramaiah, P. R., op. cit., p.42.

States Peoples' Conference :

In the meanwhile, changes in the political field were fast moving with currents and cross currents across the border. The people of the Native States began to hold periodical conferences from the year 1927 onwards to give expression to their desires in political matters. All India States People's Conference was organised to safeguard the interest and desires of the Princely India, and to work in close co-operation with the Congress in the freedom struggle. Simultaneously, the South Indian States subjects Conference was held in December, 1928 at Trivandrum under the Presidentship of M. Visvesvaraya. This Conference was attended by a large number of public men from Mysore. One of the main subjects discussed at the conference was opposing the bifurcation of India into Indian States and British India which coincided with the appointment of Sir Harcourt Butler Committee by the Government of India to study the relation between Indian States and Government of India.

The All India States Peoples' Conference was held at Bangalore in 1930 under the Chairmanship of Abhayankar and this was on the eve of the First Round Table Conference held in London to which Sir Mirza Ismail was a delegate of South Indian States, supporting fully the All India Federal Plan, and when the Congress was engaged in Civil Disobedience Movement.

In March, 1930 Gandhiji launched his famous Dandi March to break salt laws. People supported the agitation spontaneously. The Congress Committee in Mysore contributed its quota in terms of money and volunteers under the leadership of K. T. Bhashyam.

Purna Swaraj Day :

The Congress flag played an interesting role in inspiring and shaping the political movement in Mysore. Ever since the inception of the Bangalore Congress Committee, the Congress flag used to be hoisted at all meetings. On the call given by the Indian National Congress, the Bangalore Congress Committee used to observe the 26th January of every year as 'Purna Swaraj Day' with the hoisting of the flag which symbolised the patriotic pride in every Congressman. The Independence Resolution at the Lahore session of the All India Congress Committee gave filip to the popular movement in Mysore. Mysore Congress decided to have a permanent flag pole fixed at Dharmambudi tank (Subhas Nagar Maidan).

Flag incident :

In 1931, Jawaharlal Nehru accompanied by his wife and daughter paid a visit to Bangalore. He was given a Civic Address by the

Bangalore City Municipal Council. To mark the visit of the national leader, the proposed permanent flag staff was fixed. Nehru hoisted a flag on this huge iron pole on 2nd June, 1931. From this day onwards the flag issue assumed greater importance and the Congress activities increased. The flag became a symbol to propagate the political creed. The people of Bangalore looked upon this high flying flag with great honour. The Government, fearing the growing influence of the Congress, pulled out this flag staff and banned the hoisting of the Congress flag on any public building. Nehru, referring to this incident says, 'In Bangalore, in Mysore State, I had hoisted at a great gathering a national flag on an enormous Iron pole. Not long after my departure this pole was broken into bits and the Mysore Government made the display of the flag an offence. This ill-treatment and insult of the flag I had hoisted pained me greatly'.[12] This outrage on the flag and hauling down the flag brought forth strong protests all over the State. Meetings were held to condemn the ban on the Congress flag. The grounds for banning the flag by the Government were stated to be that it was likely to disturb the peace and was taken to be derogatory to the flag of Mysore.

Nationalistic Ideas :

The Executive Committee of All India States Peoples' Conference protested against the actions of the Government of Mysore in banning the hoisting of the national flag in any public place in Bangalore.[13] In spite of these protests and demonstrations, the policy of the Government continued and ban orders were extended to other districts by renewing the order every six months. This policy of Government was resented as well by the non-brahmin leaders. These leaders, once considered as loyalist, were no longer in that line of thinking when they were convinced that those who were running the administration were not prepared to share political power with them. The nationalistic ideas made deep impression on the educated non-brahmin young leaders. They were gradually sliding away from the Government camp to come closer to the Congress which once was not considered by them as a credible political force.

Communal Award Condemned :

Another factor which kindled the patriotic spirit among the people of Mysore was the Communal Award. The Second Round Table Conference appointed a consultative Committee to arrive at a solution on communal and other issues. When the Committee failed to arrive at a solution, British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald arbitrated and announced the notorious Communal Award, which created separate

12. Jawaharlal Nehru—An Autobiography, Ch. XXXVI, p.273.
13. All India States Peoples' Conference, Bombay, dt. 8-7-1931.

electoral districts for the Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, Sikhs and depressed classes. This compelled Gandhiji to begin a *Fast unto death.* The people of Mysore condemned the Award. It may be recalled that the Committee on constitutional reforms in Mysore had expressed itself against the communal electorate as early as 1923. Gandhiji ended his fast on the conclusion of Poona Pact which brought about a compromise by providing for joint electorate with special guarantees to depressed classes.

Provincial Autonomy :

Yet another important event was the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935 which generated a great deal of political activities in Mysore. Under this Act a new political status was conferred on the British Indian provinces by way of Provincial Autonomy. 'That the Governers' provinces of the future are to be responsibly governed units, enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere'. [14] The success of the Congress party in Provincial elections and the formation of popular Ministries in as many as nine provinces encouraged the people of Mysore to organise themselves into strong political parties to wrest their civil liberties and responsible Government. 'Though there has been a certain amount of demand for Responsible Government in the State for sometime, the agitation of it has become intensified of late through the activities of the Congress. It is significant that its commencement coincided with the inauguration of what is popularly called 'Provincial Autonomy' in British India and the advent into power of the Indian National Congress, in the majority of the Provinces'. It was but one more indication of the fact that "no well ordered Indian State can hope to remain in isolation uninfluenced by what was going on outside in the rest of India." [15]

Congress—A Political Force :

In this background, the predominently Brahmin Congress and non-Brahmin dominated Peoples Federation were coming closer to join the national main stream which offered great opportunities for political patronage in future. Although Mysore Congress could not develop into a political force in the past two decades, it became broad based and influential with the entry of the non-Brahmin leaders. The new party, owing allegience to the Indian National Congress emerged under the name of Mysore Congress, started considerable amount of agitation and organised propaganda under its banner and with external aid. In some

14. Ramsay Macdonald—RTC concluding speech.
15. Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, Ch. III, p.52.

cases Congressmen defied the legally constituted authority. The Government took action against some persons whose speeches were deemed to be seditious.

Appeal for Co-operation :

The very first act of the newly formed Congress party was to stage a walk out in the Representative Assembly as a protest against what they considered the repressive policy of the Government. In the same session, Dewan made a special appeal to the members for harmony and co-operation in these terms. "The Government are not inappreciative of the influence which the political changes on the other side of the border are likely to have on public opinion within the State. It has ever been the desire of His Highness the Maharaja to widen, according to the favourable developments of circumstances, the opportunities afforded to his subjects of sharing in the responsible task of Government." Even, Dewan indicated the willingness on the part of the Government to grant further reforms stating 'that His Highness has been watching with keen appreciation the growth of public spirit and patriotic zeal among his subjects and that their aspirations for larger opportunities to serve the State will meet with due response at the proper movement'.[16]

Prohibitory Orders :

In the same session, Mr. Bhupalaum Chandrasekhara Setty, through an adjournment motion stated that the Police are trying to put down Congress party activities inside and outside the legislature. He cited the order served on T. Siddalingaiah prohibiting him from making public speech or convening public meetings or hoisting the Congress flag within the limits of Channagiri taluk for a period of two months commencing from 19th September, 1937 without the permission of a competent Police Officer.[17] Even when the discussion was taking place, events, however rapidly took a turn for the worse and there were disturbances of public peace in the city of Bangalore and in other places of the State. To control the situation Government had to issue prohibitory orders as a precaution against apprehended breaches of the peace. As a protest against these prohibitory orders, some members of the Legislative Council resigned their seats in the Council just prior to the January of 1938.

Parliamentary Means :

When the agitation of Congress was in progress, side by side the members of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council

16. R.A. Proceedings, October 1937, p.1.
17. Ibid., p.84.

were urging for reforms and responsible Government by making use of the floor on the Houses. D. S. Mallappa, President of the newly established Praja Paksha in 1931, through a cut motion in the Legislative Council raised the issue of establishing responsible Government in Mysore early. The motion was disallowed by the President—Dewan on the ground of impropriety by pointing out that a discussion cannot be allowed in the guise of a cut motion of a matter which would not have been allowed if it had been brought up as a resolution or an interpellation.[18] The same issue was brought up again in 1934 requesting for the grant of further constitutional reforms in the State.[19]

Resolutions for Political Reforms :

In January 1938, three resolutions were brought up for discussion in the Legislative Council. P. Subbarama Setty moved a resolution 'that this Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja that they be pleased to appoint a Committee consisting of officials and non-officials to consider and recommend to Government further instalment of Political reforms to be introduced in the State at an early date'.[20]

The strength of the arguments in favour of reforms were on these lines. The Representative Assembly which was 56 years old and the Legislative Council 30 years, were functioning satisfactorily in their allotted sphere. The elected elements in Legislative Councils of some of the Indian States like Travancore and Cochin favourably compare with that of British Indian Provinces. The reforms in Mysore compared with British Indian Provinces in terms of Provincial Autonomy were twenty years behind times. The main deficiency in both the Houses is that the resolutions passed by them were not binding on the Government. Out of eighty eight resolutions passed by the Assembly since 1923 only twenty one have been given effect to. The most peculiar feature of both Houses was that the Dewan and members of the Executive Council were President and Vice-Presidents respectively. In no other Constitution the Executive Heads of administration preside over the deliberations of consultative or advisory body whose decisions are binding on the Government.

Further, it was stated that "During the past fifteen years, events have moved with great rapidity all over India. New ideas, new aims and new ambitions have stirred the minds of our people along with those of the rest of India. The establishment of responsible Government in all the British Indian Provinces has spurred the people of Mysore for similar Government in Mysore and making it possible to associate non-

18. L.C. Proceedings, 1931, Sub. No. 47.
19. Ibid., 1934.
20. Ibid., January 1938, Resolution No. 4, p.141.

official gentlemen with the administration in a larger measure than is being done at present'.[21]

Plea for Constitutional Committee :

In the light of experience gained in working the 1923 Regulations, changes may be contemplated with due regard to modern conditions. The question of two houses, non-official elected majority, the non-official President and other issues may be referred to a Committee of experienced and able men, both officials and non-officials who can approach this question with an open and unprejudiced mind.[22]

Proposal Accepted :

The Government accepted the proposal from the members in principle and expressed their intention of taking up the question of Constitutional reforms in the State. In the meanwhile, the A.I.C.C. Resolution passed in February 1938, at Haripura Session redefining the policy of the Congress of non-interference in the affairs of the Indian States gave a hint to the Mysore Congress to follow their own independent policy when it stated that 'The Congress stood for the responsible Government in the States, but it would not directly take part in the movements inside the States'. It had, however, no objection for individual Congressmen to render in their personal capacities assistance to Indian States people in their work.[23] The effect of this resolution was that Mysore State Congress became autonomous in its freedom of action without antagonising the A.I.C.C.

Congress Agitation :

In view of the ensuing Legislative Council by-elections, Mysore State Congress party launched its agitational and electioneering activities. The Government was also prepared for the challenge. Referring to the recent attempts of the Congress to create unrest, the Dewan stated, 'I am wondering whether these persons in the State who are accusing the Government of policy of repression really believe what they say. It is repression to use the ordinary law of the land against the law breakers, they seem to fancy that by calling themselves Congressmen they make themselves immune from the operation of the law and the odium that should belong to subversive propaganda'.[24] Further, in course of his speech the Dewan characterised the agitation as "one started by a handful of disgruntled elements, in an attempt to

21. Ibid., 1938, p.145.
22. Ibid., p.146,
23. Ramaya, P.R., op.cit., p.63.
24. Ibid., op.cit., p.55.

discredit the Government, to mislead the ignorent villagers and students and to excite their feelings." When agitation was being intensified by the Congress, the Government came forward with an announcement for reforms.

Srinivasa Iyengar Committee :

In pursuance of the undertaking given by the Government to the Legislative Council in January 1938, an order was issued appointing a Special Committee comprising of two officials and seventeen non-official members* with K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar as Chairman for the purpose of examining the working of the representative institutions in the State and formulating comprehensive proposals as to the further changes which were desirable in order to secure the steady and harmonious constitutional progress of the State.**

Immediately before the first meeting of the Committee Government nominated S. C. Mallaiah, a member of the Representative Assembly to the Committee. The personnel of the Committee was further enlarged raising the strength to twenty six including the Chairman.

Terms of Reference :

The Committee was requested to formulate, taking into consideration, the existing State of education and public spirit, the growing political consciousness of the people and other relevant factors, comprehensive proposals as to the further changes which might be desirable in order to secure the steady and harmonious Constitutional progress of the State, from the point of view of all the interests concerned. The Committee was requested to deal specifically with the following questions :

(i) The composition, functions and powers of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, respectively, having special regard among other matters, to the possibility of the extension of the franchise and to the representation of the special interests and minorities which have developed since 1924 ;

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*Officials : N. S. Subba Rao, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University, K. V. Anantha Raman, Revenue Commissioner.

Non-Officals : B. Chandrasekhara Setty, M.R.A., K. Changalaraya Reddy, D. H. Chandrasekharaiah, M.L.C., Dr. F. X. De Souza I.C.S., M.L.C. D. V. Gundappa M. L.C., C. Hayavadana Rao M. L. C., S. Hiriannaiya, J. M. Imam M.L.C., M. Abbas Khan M.L·C., C. Narasimhaiya, B. S. Puttaswamy M.L.C., T. Ramachandra M.L.C., M. C. Rangaiyengar K. D. Rukminiamma M.R.A., P. Subbarama Chetty M.L.C., Rev W. F. Tomlinson, V. Venkatappa M.L.C.

**Order No. 2691-2751-C.C.B. 165-37-1 dated 1-4-1938 and 26-4-1938.

(ii) The relation of the two Houses to each other and to the Executive authority of the State ;

(iii) Their sessions, duration and dissolutions ;

(iv) Their Presidents and other functionaries ;

(v) Allowances and honoraria payable to their members and officers ;

(vi) Their privileges and the privileges of their members, and remedies in case of breach of privilege ;

(vii) Their power to appoint Committees and to delegate authority to such Committees ;

(viii) The safeguards necessary for minorities, special interests and emergencies ;

(ix) The method of appointment of representatives of the State to the two Houses of the proposed federal legislature, and their relation with the Government and the legislative bodies in the State ;

(x) The Committee was vested with power to enquire fully into the above and all cognate questions and to make recommendations on all matters pertaining to the development of the constitution, the object in view being to promote the contentment and well-being of all classes of His Highness's subjects, and to increase the scope for their exercise of the duties and privileges of citizenship.[25]

Congress Demands :

The Special Committee headed by Sri K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar had only four Congressmen among the seventeen non-official members and a majority of them were considered as Government loyalists. The Congress Party felt that with meagre representation of four it cannot be effective in the Committee to bring about any radical change in the proposed reforms, and directed the Congressmen to refrain from co-operating with deliberations of the Committee, till the demands of the Congress were conceded. Congress President placed before the Dewan the following demands :

(i) The recognition of the Mysore State Congress Party ;

(ii) Increase of a substantial number of Congressmen on the Reforms Committee ;

(iii) The declaration of the goal of the reforms as responsible Government.

Gandhiji's Advice Sought :

When Dewan refused to accept any of the Congress demands, the Congress party which was well set for a full scale agitation came to the

25. Report of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, Chapter-I, para-2.

brink to achieve the goal. Before launching this move, Congressmen sought the advice of Gandhiji, who in turn advised them to extend their co-operation with the Reforms Committee if the Government were to give an assurance to discuss the issue of Responsible Government, and suggested to the delegation of Congressmen to meet the Dewan with the proposal. Congress President, T. Siddalingaiah, met the Dewan in the first week of April, 1938 without any fruitful result. Then, the Congress party decided not only to non-cooperate with the Reforms Committee but also to launch a struggle in the form of Flag Sathyagraha.

Sivapura Sathyagraha :

The first session of the newly formed Mysore State Congress was held, in the shadow of tension, at Sivapura near Maddur Railway Station. It was a largely attended Congress Party Convention in Mysore State where they wanted to hoist the Congress flag. But a dead lock ensued when the Government decided to ban the hoisting of the Congress flag in any Public place. Mysore District Magistrate promulgated an order under Section 39 of the Mysore Police Regulations prohibiting the hoisting of the Congress flag in and around vicinity of Sivapura. The Congress Party decided to go ahead with the schedule of flag hoisting programme. Many Congress leaders courted arrest on 11th April, 1938 by disobeying the ban order. The Flag Sathyagraha spread to other parts of the State resulting in imprisonment of hundreds of people.

The Dewan was anxious to avoid a protracted confrontation in view of the marriage of Prince Jayachamaraja Wadiyar which was scheduled for May 1938, moving for a compromise through some top leaders of the Congress outside Mysore State.

Viduraswatha Tragedy :

In the meanwhile the confrontation between the Government and the Congress workers resulted in a tragic incident at Viduraswatha. On 25th April, 1938, the Congress workers organised a rally, as a part of Flag Sathyagraha, at Viduraswatha, a pilgrim center near Gowribidanur in Kolar District, where a three-day Cattle fair was in progress. A crowd of ten thousand had gathered at a meeting which was to be addressed by the Congress leaders. The District officials along with a Police force went there to enforce the ban and declared the meeting unlawful and asked the people to disperse. When the people refused to move out, a lathi-charge was ordered and scuffles followed in which the small number of Police force was cornered and stoned. The panicked Officers ordered the Police to fire. Nearly one hundred rounds were fired into the mob killing more than thirty people and wounding several people.[26] The Viduraswatha tragedy came as a shock to the

26. Report of Rameshm Enquiry Committee, p.107.

people in Mysore and outside. The firing incident was condemned in different parts of the country. Gandhiji expressed his deep concern to the Dewan on the tragic incident.

Dewan's Defence :

In reply to Gandhiji, the Dewan stated that the Press Reports about the casualities rather exaggerated and the recent restlessness in Mysore was 'more a manifestation of hoogliganism than a political awakening'. By this time several leaders met Gandhiji and impressed on him the situation arising out of the Viduraswatha tragedy. Government issued a press note on the firing incident expressing sympathy for the bereaved families but justified the action as a measure of self-defence which became absolutely necessary to control the furious mob. The repressive policy of the Government continued. The prohibitory orders were extended to other parts of the State, and several hundreds of people were arrested for defying the prohibitory orders, and even the vernacular press was suppressed.

When the situation was becoming tense day by day, to place all the facts about the incident before the public, a Committee was appointed by the Government with Sir Vepa Ramesham, Retired Judge of the High Court of Madras, as Chairman to enquire into the circumstances relating to the Viduraswatha disturbances.

Mediation :

Noticing the good gesture of the Government and also in view of Dewan's approach to him before the incidnt for a compromise, Gandhiji deputed Sardar Vallababhai Patel and J. B. Kripalani to Mysore to negotiate between the Mysore Government and Congress Party. By the efforts of these leaders a compromise was reached between Sir Mirza and Mysore Congress, on the following points :—The misunderstandings that had arisen between the Dewan and the Congress members were to be sorted out. The Government viewed with deep regret the tragic happenings at Vidurswatha and expressed sympathy which they deeply felt for any innocent sufferers, and for the relations or dependents of all the sufferers in that unhappy incident, and assured that the eminent men in the enquiry Committee investigate impartially, the causes of the occurrance and sequence of the events and bring the whole matter to light. The Government sought the co-operation of the people in the work of the Government which required the sustained and devoted labour of all who were anxious to promote the welfare of the State.

Compromise Plan :

The Government to recognise the Mysore State Congress as a

political party on the understanding that the Mysore State Congress would co-operate with the Government in the task of constitutional reforms and that they would act as a political party formed within the State and composed of subjects of His Highness, and carry on their work in a peaceful and constitutional manner with its aim to be the attainment of responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. To provide fullest opportunity to all political organisations, for making constructive proposals in the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, and three more new members selected by the Mysore State Congress were to be added to the Committee, and it was kept open to the Committee to discuss and recommend any plan for constitutional reform including a plan for responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

The Flag issue was to be settled on the basis of Gandhiji's advice that the Mysore Flag and the Flag of the Indian National Congress together to be hoisted on all ceremonial occasions, and the Congress flag alone at purely party meetings only. Civil disobedience and no-tax campaign were to be withdrawn by the Congress Party. With the clearing of clouds upon the political life of the State, the Government must order the release of all political prisoners and all prohibitory orders to be withdrawn. This compromise seemed to end the era of suspicion between the Congress and the Government. At a public address in Bangalore, Patel advised the Mysore Congress leaders to accept the compromise plan. [27]

On the assurance of co-operation from the Mysore State Congress Party, the Government passed orders on the compromise principles by increasing the members of the Congress Party from four to seven and widening the terms of reference of the Committee so as to include the scheme of responsible Government. [28]

Eliciting Public Opinion :

The Committee had commenced its work on 28th April, 1938, and held preliminary discussions regarding procedure. The Committee desired to know opinions from the various sections of the public and invited the members of the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly as well as other prominent persons and associations in the State to send in their considered views on the subject. More than a thousand communications were sent out appealing to the public to send their views. The response was very satisfactory. As many as four hundred and forty communications were received by the Committee of which 190 were memoranda on constitutional reforms, offering suggestions either in general or particular items. The Committee also

27. The Hindu, 9th May, 1938.
28. G.O.No.3862-3931-C.L. dated 17-5-1938.

took the oral evidence of selected representatives of the public and examined thirty one witnesses. [9] Thus the Committee had the advantage of having different shades of public opinion before arriving at sound conclusions.

New Members :

Practically, the Committee represented all schools of thought. In addition to the existing members, (and again in accordance with the compromise plan) three more Congress nominees—K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, R. Chennigaramiah and H. C. Dasappa representing Congress Party and other two prominent public men H. B. Gundappa Gowda and Mahamed Haneef were added making the composition of the Committee 26. On 16th November, 1938 Justice P. Mahadevayya, retired Chief Justice of Mysore was appointed as a member of the Committee in the place of official member Mr. K. V. Anantha Raman who resigned the membership of the Committee on his elevation to the Executive Council. All the members extended their co-operation in right earnest hoping to evolve a good constitution, although they differed in their appraisal of existing political realities and limitations.

The scheme for constitutional reform prepared by the Mysore Congress Party as well as several memoranda and resolutions from individual members and bodies representing different schools of thought was before the Committee.

The Congress Scheme :

The Congress Scheme aimed at the establishment of a system of constitutional, parliamentary and hereditary monarchy.

(i) It sought to define the powers and the privileges of the Maharaja and to regulate the succession to the throne and the institution of a Regency in case of necessity.

(ii) It indicated for the institution of a Council of Ministers who in turn were to be collectively responsible to the Legislature.

(iii) The legislature to consist of a single chamber of two hundred and fifty members elected on the basis of Universal adult suffrage.

(iv) It suggested for the declaration and guarantee of fundamental rights of the citizens.

(v) Suggested for an independent Comptroller and Auditor-General for audit of accounts and control of the execution of the budget.

(vi) It suggested for the institution of a Public Service Commission to deal with recruitment and control of Public Services.

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29. Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, Appendix-V.

(vii) The Status of High Court to be in par with High Courts of British India in regard to its constitution, powers and functions, so as to ensure the independence of Judiciary.

(viii) The Scheme contained the provision for amendment of the Constitution.

(ix) Its attitude towards All India Federation suggested to make provision for the mode of election of representatives of the State to the Federal Legislature. [30]

Unrealistic Scheme :

The Congress Party scheme for reforms seemed not only radical but vitiated primarily by its failure to recognise the actual political status of Mysore and its Ruler. In Mysore, the Ruler is the source of all power, jurisdiction and authority. Further, the powers of the Ruler is itself circumscribed by his responsibility to the Paramount Power. Thus the scheme had no relation to the realities of the situation in Mysore.

Deficiencies in the Scheme :

At that stage of political development entrusting the task of legislation to a single house of legislature with 250 members chosen by adult franchise was not possible. Moreover, the existing two houses were performing highly useful functions and were an integral part of the political life of the State. The mood of the people was not for sudden dispensing with either of the Houses. So also the change from the existing Executive Council to a fully responsible Ministry on lines of Parliamentary system of Government in the absence of well organised Political Parties in the State was fraught with serious consequences.

The Congress scheme was politically inadequate as it did not provide for effective reserve powers in the hands of the Ruler either to satisfy the treaty obligations, to ensure safety and good Government in the event of the breakdown of the Constitutional machinery, or to safeguard the interests of the minorities against the possible excesses of majority rule. [31] In the scheme, the Ruler's freedom in the choice of his Ministry was completely fettered. The so called Royal prerogatives would be exercisable only at the bidding of the Ministry, and the power of *veto* over legislation would not be exercisable at all.

In the existing nature of polity, the constitutional reforms in Mysore can proceed only by devolution from the Ruler. On the other hand, the scheme proposed by the Congress instead of being a system of

30. Congress Scheme, A.M.C.C., K.C. Reddy dt.5-8-1938.

31. Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, 1938 Appendix-VI.

responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja, it would be under whose aegis the Ruler will be allowed a nominal and precarious existence.[32]

Views on Status Quo :

In contrast to these radical proposals, a predominantly conservative view point was expressed in a memorandum signed by a Municipal Councillor of Madhugiri town and 1035 other residents of that town and other surrounding places which stated—'the present system of Government is quite satisfactory and best suited for the conditions of Mysore. We are happy under the benign rule of His Highness the Maharaja, and no material reforms are necessary. We do not need any drastic changes, such as responsible Government, as we fear that they are likely to lead to disastrous consequences in the circumstances obtaining in Mysore'.[33]

Similarly the Central Mahameden Association, Bangalore, in a memorandum stated, 'The Musalmans of Mysore have reason to believe, nay, they are convinced beyond the shadow of doubt, that those who are agitating for responsible Government are anything but nationalists..... Unless those who are now adminstering Local Bodies, such as Panchayats, Municipalities, District Boards, etc. give proof of their capacity for self-government and shed their communalism, there should be no further advance in the system of Government and no new powers should be conferred on them. There is ample scope, under the existing Constitution, based as it is on the triple principle of consultation, representation and responsivity, to work for the well-being and happiness of the people at large'.[34] The Mysore State Muslim League emphatically stated that 'the grant of responsible government in Mysore State by the transference of sovereign power in favour of the people of Mysore, even to any small extent and in any respect whatsoever, would be disastrous to the interests of the country which has progressed in all directions remarkably well under the present constitution and earned a high reputation all over the world for its efficient administration'.[35]

The Catholic and European Associations of Mysore stated that the existing constitution as a whole offers all reasonable scope for the people of the State to take part in its administration and to promote its development, and that they do not consider therefore, that it would serve any useful purpose to enter into any purely theoretical discussions or to make any specific demands on merely hypothetical considerations.[36]

32. Ibid., Ch.III, Sec.II, p.65.
33. Ibid., Ch.III, p.66.
34. Ibid., para-93, p.65.
35. Ibid., Ch.III.
36. Ibid., para-94.

The Mysore Planters' Association representing an important special interest took the view—'We look upon the present Constitution in Mysore as entirely satisfactory and needing no alteration. It is an example of a happy blend of autocracy and democracy. It is more efficient and effective than any complete democracy can hope to be, yet it is not tyrannous nor restrictive of personal liberty. In practice, it works as a particularly good form of government. There is no reason why the example of other countries or parts of India should be followed simply for the sake of following them, if Mysore has something better as in our opinion it has..... you will have seen we are not in favour of changes. The Government of the State is far too serious and vital a matter to the lives and happiness of the people of the State to be a subject of experiment or drastic changes. The present form of government works, and works well'.[37]

Moderate View :

One of the memoranda, representing the moderate school of thought of reforms, stated—'considering the political advancement in our neighbouring British Indian Provinces, the constant and silent permeation of ideas of our neighbouring British Indians into ours and the political awakening of the masses in recent years, it is no longer possible or right to resist the aspirations of the people of Mysore for responsible Government. Hence, the Constitutional advancement of Mysore must result in responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. But, it is not possible to reach this goal of full responsible Government immediately'.[38] Though the political consciousness of the people is roused, there is yet lack of general education and much less of political education among the masses. Nebulous and hazy notions and ideas require clarification and crystallisation. The ground for granting full responsible government must be prepared. Association of the people and their representatives in the government of the State is a necessary first step by which the people can gain experience and knowledge.

It is, therefore, desirable that as a step towards the realisation of full responsible government some reforms be first introduced, and after studying the working of such reforms for a period of about five years, the advisability of introducing full responsible government may be considered.[39] Thus the above view conforms to the position held in 1924 in the words of His Highness the Maharaja, as one 'sufficiently flexible to expand with the expanding political consciousness of the people'.

37. Ibid., Ch.III, para-95.
38. Ibid., Ch.III, para-96.
39. Report of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, 1939, p.68.

The tremendous changes inside and outside the State, the growing political consciousness of the people of Mysore and experience gained in the past fifteen years in working, the existing institutions have indicated a measure of further constitutional advance. The Committee felt, in making the advance, due consideration must be given to the political status of Mysore and the need for stability and good government and to ensure the largest volume of support of the reasonable and enlightened public opinion in the country.

The Main Considerations :

The Committee had to keep in view certain basic factors before proceeding to formulate a suitable scheme of reform. In addition to general considerations mentioned already, there were two important factors—one external and another internal. The external factor relates to the Paramount Power which demands imperative recognition of the limitations imposed by the political status of Mysore, and the transgressing of which would lead to grave complications. The internal factor necessitates a careful examination of the constitutional position of the sovereign in Mysore. As regards the relation of the Ruler with Paramount power, the Instrument of Transfer of 1881 states—'the Chief authority and the ultimate governmental responsibility in all cases rests actually as well as nominally with the Ruler'. For discharging the obligations, the treaty stipulates that 'no material change in the system of administration now in force shall be made without the consent of the Governor-General in Council'.[40]

It was a common knowledge that the reforms of 1923 were inaugurated only after the approval of Paramount power. Not merely these wide powers are vested in the Governor-General to intervene over the entire range of internal administration in case of necessity or to take precautionary or remedial action as circumstances may, at any time, appear to render necessary to provide adequately for the good government of the people of Mysore or for the security of the British rights and interests within the State.[41] It was argued that the Governor-General may not intervene in the ordinary day to day administration in a progressive State like Mysore. But, such interference had in the past been exercised on occasions, and it cannot be ruled out of account in dealing with the future.

Paramount Power and Indian States :

The attitude of the Paramount Power towards the Indian States was indicated in several pronouncements both inside and outside the British Parliament. Earl Winterton stated on the floor of the Parliament

40. Instrument of Transfer, Art. 19.

41. Ibid., Art. 21.

that it was not the policy of the Paramount Power to intervene in ordinary circumstances in the internal administration of full-powered States. The Paramount power certainly would not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by the Rulers. The consent of the Paramount Power had not been required before approval of such advance by the various Princess, nor had it been sought in such matters. The Paramount power would ordinarily confine itself to tendering advice when consulted. [42]

Advisory Role :

A similar view was expressed by Colonel Muirhead in the Parliament. A little later, amplifying the view expressed in Earl Winterton's statement, Lord Zetland, Secretary of State, said, that the time had come when the Paramount power should intervene a little more effectively than it had in the past, not with a view to derogating from the sovereignty of the Princes, but for giving them advice with the object of raising the standard of their administration. Further, he stated—'though we are under a promise to protect the Princes against aggression from without, it is only reasonable that we see that the legitimate grievances of their Highness's subjects should be carefully considered by them and where possible a remedy should be applied.

That does not mean that we are justified in bringing pressure to bear on the Princes to bring about a radical change in the form of their government. I have always said that is a matter for Princes themselves. We should do what we can do to raise the standard of administration and see that the subjects of their Highnesses get a fair deal, but let us not forget to consider the views of the Princes or endeavour to impose a form of Government which in many cases will be quite unsuited to the conditions that exist'. [43]

Rulers' Obligations :

At a subsequent clarificatory note regarding the Rulers obligations to the Paramount power, Colonel Muirhead said—'the policy indicated in my reply is not to be taken as implying that the Paramount Power would recognise a Ruler as having endowed any constitutional body, which he may create with a greater degree of authority than that which he himself is recognised as possessing. No State would be regarded as relieved of its obligations to the Paramount Power by the fact that the Ruler has divested himself of the control necessary to discharge them, and the Paramount power would remain free to take such steps as might be required to ensure their fulfilment'. [44]

42. Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, 1938, p.71.
43. Report of the Committee on the Constitutional Reforms, 1939, p.72.
44. Ibid.

Reading from the above mentioned views Earl Winterton's statement was regarded by some as a radical change in the policy of Paramount Power. But, some critics observed that it did not represent the existing position correctly. On this issue the considered opinion by a former Dewan, A. R. Banerji was that the revision of the treaties would be involved if what has been said by Earl Winterton in the Parliament was to be considered as tantamount to introducing in practice a new and important chapter in the history of mutual realtions between the Paramount power and the Indian States.[45]

Paramountcy and Popular Government :

According to the protagonists for establishment of responsible government, such a move affecting in any way the responsibilities of the Ruler to the Paramount Power, the responsible Government must necessarily be good Government, that peace and order would always be maintained in a State where the government has the backing of the people, and that responsible Ministries would take due care to see that the treaty obligations are satisfied . On the other hand, they contended that if a demand for responsible government with the backing of the people was not satisfied, the Ruler may be placed in the awkward position of having to seek the support of the Paramount power as against his own people.

There were those who maintained that the satisfactory discharge of the obligations to the Paramount Power would be impossible under any system of Popular Government.

Committee's Candid View :

After taking all these views into consideration, the Committee was in a position to give its own candid thought over the issue. The Committee was of the view that the difficulties in the way of full responsible government presented by the existence of Paramountcy cannot be ignored although there is no need to exaggerate them. Colonel Muirhead's statement left no room for any ambiguity. No Ruler could divest himself of his treaty obligations and ask the Paramount power to deal with a popular government of his choice or his own creation, but not responsible to him in the first instance. If the Ruler has a responsibility to the Paramount power then he must necessarily retain effective power for that purpose and he must have also the means of enforcing them. Ruler by allowing himself exposed to the danger and seeking the help of Paramount power to set things right, would be most unwise.

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45. Ibid., p.73.

Devolution of Power :

The Committee further was of the view on the argument equating responsible government with good government begged the question and took too much for granted. In a country where people are not fully ripe for the grant of complete responsibility, the form of responsible government may create complications which could be obviated by a more cautious advance. The existence of political aspirations was not always a sufficient guide to the solution of constitutional problem.[46] Mysore being a unitary State and the Head of the State and Executive Head of the Government as well as the source and sanction of law was the Ruler who was sovereign symbolising Dharma or Law. Such a Ruler was not only not opposed to democratic ideals in any way but fully consistent with them. Whatever the position as regards theory and application of sovereignty to the Indian States, the general fact was that in Mysore all power, jurisdiction, and authority were derived from the Maharaja and were exercised in his name and that any scheme of constitutional reform could, therefore, only be introduced by means of a devolution of power from the sovereign.[47]

Danger of Majority Rule :

In its working Democracy invariably construed as majority rule. Legislation is determined by collective will, which, if ascertained on the democratic principle, will be the will of majority. At the same time, it is also considered not sacrosanct. Like all political institutions it is founded on average human nature.[48] Majority rule is accepted because it possesses power, power of numbers and has on its side the inclination of average person to follow the line of least resistance. There is also danger in the tendency of the majority and its constituent to assume that its judgements are not merely expedient, but also right. This approximates to might being equated with right. It is true without a majority, democratic government cannot function and without a stable majority it cannot function well. At the same time, mere 'majority rule' would not satisfy the demand for political freedom. There is no more hopeless and crushing form of tyranny than that of a majority.[49] According to the Committee's view, the sure protection against the possible tyranny of numbers is in the tradition of the hereditary monarch ruling according to *Dharma.*

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46. Ibid., p.7.
47. Report of the Seal Committee, para-7
48. H. Finer—Theory & Practice of Modern Government, p.81.
49. R. Bassett—The Essentials of Parliamentary Democracy, p.115.

Need of Wise Ruler :

In the evolution of the State, the very raison d'etre for the existence of the King was declared to be the protection of weak against the strong. At present such a protection was required not between man and man but between organised groups one trying to dominate the other. Particularly in India these groups are mainly organised on communal lines. This fact makes the protection of minorities a more urgent and enduring one, because where the groups are based on political opinion there is a chance of the balance of numbers being shifted but as between communities and caste there is no such hope. 'Government without safeguards for minorities is the negation of liberty'.

The representations received by the Committee from the minorities particularly, Muslims, Christians and other organisations were unanimous that the safeguarding of their interests could only be done by the Sovereign and that he must therefore retain real and effective powers in this behalf. Hence, there was no better corrective for the fissiperous and disintegrating tendencies which were released in working democracies, than the stabilising influence of a wise Ruler, above all party differences, to whom all calsses, communities and religions will look up with affection and confidence.[50]

Declaration of the Goal :

The Committee also considered the need for the declaration of the goal in terms of responsible government. Although the increasing association of the people with the Government in the administration of the State was all along the declared policy of the Ruler of Mysore and although responsible government was nothing more than the optimum limit of such association, some members of the Committee urged that a declaration in terms of responsible government would help to give the quietus to unnecessary and avoidable political agitation and would set the people to work out their political salvation on a settled plan, while permitting the Ruler to putforth his best efforts to assist the people to attain the goal. It was further felt by the Committee that a declaration would help to prevent unscrupulous propaganda and positively help since the recommendations of the Committee were in essence based on the idea of the development of popular responsibility.

A System of Responsible Government :

After a careful consideration of pros and cons of the issue, the Committee stated, 'the goal to be kept in view in all constitutional reforms in Mysore should be established of a system of responsible government under the authority and protection of the sovereign, *i.e.*, a

50. Report of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms, 1939, p.77.

system in which the administration is carried on by a Cabinet of Ministers enjoying the support and confidence of His Highness and the legislature; the powers of His Highness to ensure peace, order and good government, to safeguard the interests of all classes of His Highness's subjects including the minorities, as well as to satisfy the terms of the treaty with the British Government, remaining unaffected and supreme in all circumstances, and the stages of progress towards the goal being determined by His Highness according to the measures of success attending the working of each stage.[51]

It was true that this formula was nothing more than a restatement of well-considered policy in Mysore. But, this declaration was to help to align and harmonise the political aspirations and to educate public opinion on the right lines.

The Proposals of the Committee:

The Committee recommended for the continuance of both the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council in the proposed new polity with such enlarged powers and functions as were recommended by the Committee without affecting their form and character keeping in tune with the historical continuity and traditions of the State.

Legislation:

Whenever any legislative measure was intended, the Assembly should invariably be consulted before the Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council and further in addition to the statement of general principles underlying the bill a copy of the bill itself had to be placed before the Assembly and its opinion ascertained. The Assembly was entitled to propose amendments thereto when the principles of the bill or any of its provisions are opposed or amended by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total strength of the Assembly; the decision of the Assembly to be accepted provided that it was open to them to introduce the bill into the Legislative Council with such modifications as may be deemed by them to be desirable in the public interest or for ensuring the safety and good government. In such a case, a statement giving reasons for their decision and a copy of it to be forwarded by the Government to the members of the Representative Assembly as well as of the Legislative Council. This meant that after a bill was passed in the Assembly, it would be introduced into the Legislative Council with or without the modifications proposed by the Assembly and when the bill was finally passed by the Council, it need not be placed again before the Assembly but may be submitted to His Highness

51. D. V. Gundappa's proposal—Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, para-121.

the Maharaja for assent together with a statement of the opinions expressed by the Assembly thereon.

Private Member's Bills :

Any member of the Assembly may place a bill before the Assembly after obtaining the permission of the Dewan. If a bill is thrown out by a majority of the members present and voting, it was not proceeded with. The same procedure was applied to any private member's bill proposed to be introduced into the Legislative Council and placed before the Assembly to ascertain its opinion.

The subjects like the relations of the Maharaja with the paramount power, measures affecting the ruling family of Mysore were excluded from the purview of the two Houses. The exclusion of matters relating to changes in the constitution of the two houses were to be confined to legislation only and should not extend to discussion, resolutions and representations. The prevailing restriction which precluded each house from suggesting modification of the constitution of the other was to be removed. Resolutions were to be moved with the previous sanction of the Dewan in either house proposing amendments to the constitution of one or the other of the two houses.

Emergency Legislation :

Under the provisions of Section 9 (2) of the existing Representative Assembly Act, Goverrment may in cases of extreme urgency place a measure on the statute book permanently without consulting the Assembly. The Committee recommended for prior consultation of the Assembly in all cases where it proposed to place a legislative measure permanently on the Statute book. In future, emergent situations were to be met by the exercise of power of framing temporary regulations having the force of law for a period of six months which may be extended by a further period of six months, if necessary. The Committee further recommended that with a view to safeguarding religious rights or usages particularly of the minorities, previous sanction of His Highness the Maharaja or of the Dewan was made a condition precedent for introduction in either of the houses of any measure affecting the religion, religious rights or usages of any class of subjects.

Taxation :

The Assembly had already enjoyed the right that no new tax should be levied nor any existing tax enhanced without its consultation. The Committee, for enlarging the powers of the Assembly in respect of the budget and conferring on it the right of passing resolutions on any major heads in the budget, provided that such resolutions do not have reference to particular grants or appropriations. This provision enabled

the Assembly to raise specific issues relating to the expenditure of the several departments. No proposal for imposition of taxation or for the appropriation of public revenues should be made except on the recommendation of the Executive. The existing list of heads of expenditure excluded from discussion were to be so modified as to permit discussion regarding the military forces of His Highness the Maharaja, although no resolution or voting thereon might be permitted. The other items continued to be excluded as at present.

Resolutions :

On the right of moving resolutions, the Committee recommended, in addition to the existing privilege, that not more than one resolution concerning any minority or special interest may be sent up by any member representing such interest, subject to the usual restrictions. The proposed abolition of the method by which the resolutions, representations, and interpellations were selected at a meeting held at the District headquarters under the Presidentship of the Deputy Commissioner as this system was considered prejudicial to minority parties and members were to be allowed to send their resolutions direct to the Government. The District-wise restrictions for sending questions was considered unnecessary and each member must be free to send one question for each session and supplementary questions were to be allowed at the discretion of the President. Similarly each member must be free to send resolution on one subject. Matters falling within the competence of a Local Body or Officer was not ordinarily to be made a subject of representation. The existing convention of Government consulting the Assembly was to be formalised and with a view to establish a closer nexus between the people and the administration, all important legislative, financial and administrative measures under contemplation of Government must be referred to the Assembly before taking a final decision.

Composition of the Houses :

The strength of the Assembly was to be fixed at 300 with power vesting in Government to increase this number by 10 or 15 more to provide for the representation of any new interests or constituencies that may be developed in future, and the seats being distributed among the rural, urban constituencies in addition to giving representation to minorities and special interests. All the members of the Assembly, except those representing Europeans and special interests, were to be elected directly from the territorial constituencies. The system of reservation for ensuring minority representation was to continue but on the lines of practice in British India only in favour of religious and racial minorities like Indian Christians, Europeans and Muslims and economically and socially backward classes who needed special protection.

In filling the seats, though the majority of the members of the Committee favoured joint electorate or some qualified system, the Muslim members of the Committee were emphatically in favour of separate communal electorate. Similar method of election was to be applied to the reserved seats of Indian Christians and seats allotted to Europeans and Anglo-Indians were filled by election by their respective associations. In view of the nature and functions of the Assembly, the Dewan and the Members of the Executive Council were to continue as President and Vice-Presidents respectively. The term of both Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was increased to four years in each case, and the Houses to meet at least in two sessions every year.

Legislative Council was to continue to exercise its power of legislation subject to the condition that every bill should in the first instance, be invariably placed before the Representative Assembly. Among the excluded subjects the matters relating to the expenditure on the military forces of His Highness the Maharaja were to come under the discussion of the Council although no resolution or voting thereon was permitted. To make the Legislative Council an effective democratic instrument, the Committee recommended for a decisive elected majority in its composition. To secure the co-operation and services of men of experience and eminence among officials and non-officials a measure of nomination was also proposed. Legislative Council was to consist of 68 members with 44 elected and 24 nominated officials and non-officials. The President and Deputy President were to be elected from among non-official members. The term of office of the President was to be co-terminous with that of the Council unless removed earlier.

Responsive Cabinet :

The most interesting innovation of the recommendation was that the Executive was to consist of Ministers some of whom were chosen from among the elected members of the legislature. The Ministers were jointly responsible to the Ruler but at the same time made answerable for their actions to the legislature although no vote of confidence was permitted. This system provided a nucleus for developing into full responsible government in course of time. The Dewan who was appointed by the Ruler for a period of 5 years was President of the Ministry. Among the Ministers not less than two should be non-officials selected from among the elected members of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, one at least from each body. Although no provision was made for representation of minorities in the Ministry it was to be guided by convention to give at least one seat to them. All the Ministers were the ex-officio members of the Legislative Council.

Franchise :

As regards franchise the Committee recommended for the retention of the existing qualification of voters for the Legislative Council except that of educational qualification for women voters to be reduced to the possession of S. S. L. Certificate. In the case of Representative Assembly, the qualification based on taxation in the rural voters was reduced from Rs. 25/- to Rs. 10/-; and the payment of taxes under the Panchayat, mines and Municipal Acts from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 4/-; similarly, Beriz on Inam villages was reduced to Rs. 100/- and Inamdars required to reside in their constituency was also removed.

Candidates :

The minimum age limit was raised from 21 years to 25 years for those standing as candidates for Representative Assembly and in the absence of other required qualifications a University Graduate was made eligible. The minimum age limit for candidates to Legislative Council was to be raised from 25 to 30 years. Payment of Income Tax as the qualification for Legislative Council candidates was to be reduced from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 50/- and the Beriz from Rs. 250/- to Rs. 100/- in case of Inamdars.

The Committee recommended for making provision in the Constitution for freedom of speech in each Houses on the lines of Section 71 (1) of the Government of India Act, 1935 and also to immunise the members of both houses from arrest under civil process during the sittings of any meetings of the Houses.

Fundamental Rights :

In order to set standards and prescribing limits for the legislature, executive and for the administration of justice, the Committee recommended for the adoption of the list of following rights :

(i) No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

(ii) Subject to public order or morality, all persons are guaranteed freedom of conscience, freedom of profession and practice of religion.

(iii) Subject to law, public order and morality, right of free expression of opinion, right of assembling peaceably and without arms and to form associations and unions, is guaranteed.

(iv) All citizens, not excluding the so called untouchables, are equal before the law and possess equal rights.

(v) There shall be no penal law, whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative nature.

(vi) No person shall be punished for any act which was not punishable under the law at the time it was committed.

(vii) No person shall by reason of his religion, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling.

(viii) No person shall by merely change of faith lose any civic right or privilege or subject to any penalty.

(ix) Subject to the maintenance of public peace and order all citizens have an equal right of access to, and use of public roads, wells and tanks and all other places of public resort.

(x) Freedom of combination and association for maintenance and improvement of labour and economic conditions is guaranteed to every one and of all occupations. All agreements and measures tending to restrict or obstruct such freedom are illegal.

(xi) Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens.

(xii) The protection of their culture, language, script and education will be guaranteed to all minority communities.

The recommendations made by the Committee were not generalizations of uncertain validity. The solutions suggested were modest and were to meet the problems pertaining to the State in the light of Indian public opinion. The nature of reforms suggested were largely, if not solely, on the lines of local conditions. These proposals were not permanent and final but only for a period of transition particularly at a time when the rapid changes were taking place alround and no one would foresee the trend of political actualities. It was true, the Committee did not favour a full responsible Government, but the ultimate objective that was envisaged in the report was the same goal. The Committee took precaution to ensure the prospects of good government in the anxiety for reform and change.

Chapter VII

The Government of Mysore Act, 1940

A Proclamation was issued on 6th November, 1939 by His Highness the Maharaja to give effect to the proposals of the special Committee of Officials and non-Officials, under a consolidated law. The recommendations of the Committee were incorporated in the Government of Mysore Act, 1940.[1] This Act was promulgated into law on 13th April, 1940 by virtue of the prerogative vested in the hands of His Highness the Maharaja. The Provisions of the new Act came into operations on first day of March, 1941.[2]

Representative Assembly :

According to the new Act, the Representative Assembly was composed of three hundred and ten members of whom twelve were nominated by the Government and the remaining members were elected in accordance with the rules framed under the Act. Power was also vested in the Government to increase the strength of the House upto a maximum of three hundred and twenty five in order to provide for the representation of any new constituencies that might be created in future.

Distribution of Seats :

In the allocation, out of the two hundred and ninety eight seats, elected general seats were 237, Mahammedan 30, Indian Christians 5, European 1, Anglo-Indian 1, special interests 20, special seats for depressed classes 4. Among the total number of general seats, 166 were chosen by rural constituencies and 45 from the urban constituencies. Of the general seats, 26 were filled by the reprsentatives of the depressed classes. The general seats of Mahammedans and Indian Christians were chosen in territorial constituencies. Separate electorates were also introduced for Muslims and Indian Christians. Joint Electorates were introduced for the depressed classes on the lines of Poona Pact.

1. Act No. XVIII of 1940.
2. Government Order No. 5029 CB 147-39-2 dated 6-5-1940.

Seats reserved for special interests were filled by persons chosen to represent the following interests—Women-9, Labour-3, Industry-2, Trade and Commerce-1, European planting-1, Indian planting-1, Co-operation-1, Gold mining-1, University-1, making a total of twenty. These seats were filled by election among the associations serving the respective interests. In the case of University, the Registered Graduates and members of the Senate formed the electorate both for Representative Assembly and Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council :

The strength of the Legislative Council with widened powers was fixed at sixty eight, with forty four elected and twenty four nominated members. Among the elected, 24 were general constituencies, 11 from the minorities, and the remaining 9 from the special interests. The break up of the elected members was as follows :

(a) General Constituencies of 8 districts each sending 3 representatives			24
(b) Minorities :			
Muslims	... 5		
Depressed classes	... 4		
Indian Christians	... 1		
Europeans	... 1	=	11
(c) Special interests :			
University	... 1		
Trade & Commerce	... 1		
Mining	... 1		
Planting	... 2		
Labour	... 2		
Women	... 2	=	9
		Total ...	44

Among the nominated members, 16 were officials and 8 were non-officials nominated, one was a member of the Anglo-Indian community.

Every Minister, who was not a member of the Legislative Council, was an additional member of the Legislative Council.

Duration :

Duration of the Legislative Council was four years unless dissolved earlier. Under certain circumstances, Government by notification in the Official Gazette had the power to extend the term by one year. The Council was summoned to meet at least twice every year.

President and Vice-President :

The Council elected its own President for a period of four years but the first President was nominated by the Maharaja held office during the pleasure of His Highness. The President had the status of a Minister. The Council also elected a Deputy President subject to the approval of the Maharaja. He presided at the meetings of the Council in the absence of the President. The elected President or Deputy President vacated his Office if he ceased to be a member of the Legislative Council or may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the Dewan. Either of them may be removed from office by a resolution of the Council passed by a majority of not less than 2/3 of the total membership of the Legislative Council and approved by the Maharaja. Any resolution for this purpose required the support of not less than 15 members of the Council and at least 15 days notice. Whenever the Legislative Council was dissolved President did not vacate his office until the election of the new President at the first meeting of the newly constituted Council.

While the office of the President was vacant the duties of that Office were performed by the Deputy President, or if the office of the Deputy President is also vacant, by such member of the Legislative Council as His Highness the Maharaja may appoint for the purpose, and during the absence of the President from any sitting of the Legislative Council the Deputy President or if he was also absent, such person as was determined by the Rules or procedure of the House, or if no such person was present, such other person as was determined by the Legislative Council acted as President. The salaries of the President and Deputy President were determined by a resolution of the Legislative Council subject to the approval of His Highness the Maharaja.

All questions at the sittings of the Council were determined by a majority of votes of the members present and voting, other than the President or person acting as such. But, President exercised a casting vote in case of a tie. The quorum of the Council was fixed at 50% of its strength.

Qualifications of Voters :

The qualifications for the voters in the Representative Assembly constituency were that a person must have attained the age of 21 years and was a subject of His Highness the Maharaja by birth or domicile and must have resided in the State of Mysore for a period of not less than one year prior to the preparation of electoral roll, and persons registered occupants of land in the constituency and paying a land revenue of not less than Rs. 15/- per annum payable to the Government or if he is a Kadim tenant paying an annual rent of not less than Rs. 15/- or if he is an owner of one or more entire Inam villages with a total

beriz of Rs. 100/- per annum in the constituency residing in the Civil and Military station, Bangalore, was qualified to be included in the electoral roll. Further, if he was assessed to an income-tax and resided in the constituency and was assessed to a sum of not less than four rupees on account of taxes levied under Mysore Village Panchayat Act, Mysore Mines Act, or taxes other than toll, and Octroi imposed under the Mysore Minor Municipalities Act, or taxes imposed by Town Boards and whose name was included in the electoral roll for Municipal elections was qualified to be a voter.

Persons who have passed S. S. L. C. examination, Kavya examination or Champu Nataka examination, Upper Secondary examination or Vernacular Teachers' Certificate examination or Pravesa examination, holder of a Title, retired or pentioned Officer of Mysore State were eligible to vote. In the case of women a pass in the Upper Primary examination, Middle School Lower Secondary examination or Kavya examination was sufficient to become a voter.[3]

Persons of depressed classes were qualified to be included in the roll of any territorial constituency if he was assessed to a sum of Rs. 2/- on account of taxes of Mysore Village Panchayat Act, Mysore Mines Act, Mysore Town Municipalities Act, and Town Board Municipal Tax of local revenue of not less than Rs. 3/- and are registered occupants of the land paying a revenue of Rs. 2/- per annum.

Disqualifications of Voters :

No person was eligible to vote if he was of unsound mind, if he was an undischarged insolvent, if he was convicted of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment for not less than six months by a Court in Mysore or elsewhere unless a period of five years or such less period as the Government may allow, has elapsed since his release, if he has been dismissed from Civil or Military service of His Highness the Maharaja unless five years have elapsed from the date of dismissal or the Government have removed the disqualification ; if his name was in the electoral roll if he was disqualified from voting under the provisions of of these rules or of any Act with respect to corrupt practices and other offences in connection with elections.

Further, no person was allowed to vote at an election in more than one territorial constituency or more than once in the same constituency. No person who was or was entitled to be included in the electoral roll for any Mahammedan, Anglo-Indian, an European or an Indian Christian constituency could be included in the electoral roll or vote at any election in a general constituency.

3. The R. A. Rules, 1940, Ch. IV, p.41.

Qualifications for Candidates :

To be a candidate, one must have been qualified to be a voter and must have attained the age of 25 years. In the absence of any other qualification, one must have been a graduate or passed Pandit final examination, or Vidwath Uthama examination or Moulvi final examination or has diploma of Licenciate in Ayurvedic medicine and Surgery.[4]

A member of the depressed classes who was entitled to vote, was qualified to fill a seat in the district. In the special Constituencies like European and Anglo-Indian, of women seats, one should have been a voter and should have attained the age of 25 years. In the case of Gold Mining seat, it was filled by an election by the members of the Kolar Gold Field Mining Board.

Disqualifications for Membership :

A person was disqualified to become a member of either House :

(i) If he held any office in the Civil or Military service of His Highness the Maharaja, other than an Office declared by rules made under this Act not to disqualify its holder ;

(ii) If he was of unsound mind ;

(iii) If he was an undischarged insolvent ;

(iv) If he was convicted of or found guilty of any offence or corrupt or illegal practice relating to elections which was declared by any Act or rules made under this Act was an offence or practice entailing disqualification for membership of either Chamber ;

(v) If he was convicted of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment for not less than six months by a Court, unless a period of five years or such less period as determined by the Government had elapsed since his release ;

(vi) If he had been dismissed from the Civil or Military service of His Highness the Maharaja, unless five years had elapsed from the date of dismissal or the Government had removed the disqualification ;

(vii) If he was a legal practitioner and had been debarred or was under suspenson from practicing as such by an order of a competent Court, the disqualification in the latter case was operative during the period of such suspension or the term of Chamber whichever was longer ;

(viii) If he had failed to lodge a return of election expenses within the time and in the manner required by any Act or rule made under

4. Ibid., -Chapter-IV, Sec.23.

this Act unless five years had elapsed or the Government had removed the disqualification;

(ix) A person was disqualified to be chosen as a member of Chamber while he was serving a sentence of transportation or imprisonment for a criminal offence. [5]

If any person were to sit and vote in either Chamber when he was not qualified or disqualified for membership thereof, or when he was prohibited from so doing by the provisions of any law he was liable in respect of each day on which he so sits or votes to a penalty of one hundred rupees which may be recovered as an arrears of land revenue. [6]

Any person for the time being disqualified under the provisions of this Act or rules made thereunder for being a member of either Chamber or for voting at elections, shall so long as the disqualification exists, also be disqualified for being an election agent at any election.

However, any disqualification under the rules made under this Act inclusive of arising in connection with an election to either Chamber may be removed by the Government if such disqualification was in respect of voting.

Privileges :

Members of both Chambers enjoyed freedom of speech. No member of either House was liable to any proceedings in any Court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Chamber or any Committee thereof, and no person was so liable in respect of the publication by or under the authority of either Chamber of any report, paper, votes or proceedings. No person of either House was liable to arrest or detention in prison under a Civil process during the continuance of any meeting of the Chamber of which he was a member. Members of the either Chambers were entitled to receive such allowance as may from time to time be determined by the Government.[7]

Vacation of Seats :

If a person was elected to the Representative Assembly or the Legislative Council in more than one constituency he should write to the Secretary of the Asesmbly or Council as the case may be within seven days of the date of the publication of the result in the Official Gazette choosing the constituency of his choice to serve in the House. If the candidate failed to make the choice within the specified time the election of such person was declared void and fresh elections were announced to fill the seats which became vacant.

5. Government of Mysore Act, 1940, Sec.20.
6. Ibid.,-Sec.21.
7. Ibid., Sec.22.

If a person was chosen a member of the Assembly and the Council and had not taken his seat in either Chamber may write to the Secretaries of both the Chambers, within seven days from the date of publication of the result or if such publications have been made on different dates within seven days from the latter of such dates; intimate which of the Chambers he wishes to serve, and any choice so intimated shall be conclusive. In case of default of such intimation, the seat of such person in the Assembly shall become vacant.

If a person who is already a member of the Assembly and is chosen a member of the Council, his seat in the Assembly shall become vacant. So also if a person is already a member of the Council is chosen subsequently a member of the Assembly, his seat in the Council shall become vacant.

Penalty for not Taking Oath :

If a person having been elected or nominated to the Assembly or the Council fails to take the oath of allegiance to His Highness the Maharaja within such time as Government considers as reasonable, the Government shall, by notification in the official Gazette, declare his seat to be vacant and call upon the constituency concerned to elect another member within such time as may be specified in the notification or shall nominate another person, as the case may be.[8]

Rules of Business :

Rules were also made under this Act for regulating the course of business, the preservation of order in either Chamber. Either Chamber had the power to issue standing orders from time to time for regulating their procedure and the conduct of the business in so far as these matters were not provided for by rules made under this Act. Further, the standing orders made by the Government were altered by the house to which they were related.

No Officer or other member of either house in whom powers were vested by or under this Act for regulating procedure or the conduct of the business or for maintaining order, in either Chamber was subject to the jurisdiction of any Court in respect of the exercise by him of those powers.

In addition to this the Government had the power to make provision by rules from time to time not inconsistent with this Act to carry out all or any of the purposes of this Act. These rules providing for :

(a) The delimitation of territorial and other constituencies for the purpose of elections ;

8. R. A Rules, 1940, Sec.20.

(b) the qualifications entitling persons to vote in territorial or other constituencies at such elections and preparation of electoral rolls ;

(c) the qualifications for being elected at such elections as a member of either Chamber ;

(d) the filling of casual vacancies in the Assembly and the Council ;

(e) the conduct of elections under this Act and the method of voting there at ;

(f) the expenses of candidates at such elections ;

(g) corrupt practices and other offences at or in connection with such elections ;

(h) the decision of doubts and disputes arising out of, or in connection with such elections ;

(i) and matters ancillary to any of the aforesaid subjects. [9]

In addition to these rules, the Maharaja had retained the prerogative to make and pass Acts, proclamations and orders in his discretion without reference to the Legislative Council or the Representative Assembly. [10] This was in the nature of a preserved prerogative.

Legislative Procedure :

Under the provisions of this new Act, Legislative Council was empowered to make laws for the whole or any part of Mysore State and for subjects of His Highness the Maharaja where they might be. All bills must be placed before the Representative Assembly with a statement of the principles of the bill before introducing them in the Legislative Council.

The Representative Assembly had the right to discuss the principles of such bills and the general provisions therein. But the details of the bills were not discussed further than was necessary to explain the principles, nor was any amendment moved other than an amendment of principle. If the principles of a bill or its general provisions were opposed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the Representative Assembly, such bill was not introduced in the Legislative Council, if any amendment of the principle was carried by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the Representative Assembly, the bill was not introduced in the Legislative Council without embodying therein such amendment.

But, the Government had the power to introduce any such bill in the Legislative Council with or without such modifications, if it became

9. Government of Mysore Act, 1940, Sec.42.
10. Ibid., Sec.47.

necessary to do so in the public interest, after appending to the bill a statement giving reasons for such introduction.

Non-official Bills :

The non-official bills were also subjected to the same conditions as they had in respect of Government bills. But, the non-official bills required previous sanction of the Dewan for placing them before the Representative Assembly. When the principles of non-official bill were opposed by a majority of the members present and voting in the Chamber ; if any amendment of the principle was carried by a majority of members present and voting in the House, such a bill was not introduced in the Legislative Council without embodying such amendment.

When a bill was passed in the Legislative Council it was submitted to His Highness the Maharaja, through the Dewan for assent with a statement of the opinion expressed by the then Representative Assembly on the principles of the bill or its general provisions. Every bill passed by the Legislative Council required the assent of the Maharaja to become an Act.

Excluded Subjects :

The subjects which were excluded from the purview of either Chamber related to or affecting :

(a) The ruling family of Mysore ;

(b) the relations of His Highness the Maharaja with His Majesty the King Emperor or the Crown representative ;

(c) the matters governed by treaties or conventions or agreements then in force or thereafter made by His Highness the Maharaja ;

(d) the provisions of the Government of Mysore Act, 1940 ;

(e) such other matters as were, from time to time specially reserved by His Highness the Maharaja.[11]

But, in respect of these matters excluded from the jurisdiction of the Chambers, the Government had the discretion to frame any measure required for the purpose, and every such measure had the force of law on receiving the assent of His Highness the Maharaja.

Emergency Measures :

In any emergency if it became necessary to take immediate action in matters other than those falling under the excluded subjects the

11. Ibid., Sec.29.

Government had the power to frame any measure required for the purpose. Every such measure had the force of law on receiving the assent of His Highness the Maharaja for such period not exceeding six months and renewable by a similar measure for a further period of six months. It could be withdrawn at any time by His Highness the Maharaja.[12]

Financial Procedure :

In respect of every financial year, a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the State, referred to as 'The Annual Financial Statement' was laid by the Government before the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The annual financial statement comprised the sums required to meet the expenditure on excluded heads ; and the sums required to meet other expenditure.

The expenditure in respect of the Palace, including the staff and the household on His Highness the Maharaja, and the Palace troops ; the pensions of the public servants ; expenditure relating to or affecting the relations of His Highness the Maharaja with His Majesty the King Emperor or the Crown representative ; matters governed by treaties or conventions or agreements ; interests on loans and charges on account of sinking funds guaranteed at the time of raising loans ; and expenditure of which the amount is specified by or under any law. All questions whether the expenditure falls within the groups of excluded heads was decided by the Dewan. No expenditure on the excluded heads was open to discussion in either Chamber.[13]

All proposals for the appropriation of any revenue or money for any purpose was made only on the recommendation of the Government. Members of the Representative Assembly had the right to move resolutions in respect of the annual financial statement provided that such resolution had reference only to the general principles and policy underlying the statement, or any of the major heads of expenditure included therein, and did not have reference to particular grants or particular provisions. All such resolutions of Representative Assembly on the annual financial statement were communicated by the Government to the Legislative Council. Estimates other than excluded heads were submitted to the Legislative Council in the form of demands for grants, and the Legislative Council had power to assent or to refuse to assent to any demand, or to assent to any demand subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein.

Supplementary Expenditure :

In any financial year any further expenditure from the revenue of

12. Ibid., Sec.32.
13. Ibid., Sec.32.

the State becomes necessary over and above the expenditure authorised for the year, a supplementary statement showing the estimated amount of that expenditure was laid by the Government before the Legislative Council.

All proposals for imposing any tax or for regulating the borrowing of money or the giving of any guarantee by the Government, or for amending the law with respect to any financial obligations undertaken by the Government was to be made in either Chamber only on the recommendation of the Government. But, the proposals for providing for the imposition of fines or other pecuniary penalties, or for the demand or payment of fees for licences or fees for services rendered are not to be treated as special financial proposals. [14]

Criticisms :

The reforms embodied in the Government of Mysore Act, 1940 were not upto the expectations of the public in Mysore. In essence they were at best compared to the Minto-Morley Reforms of British Indian Provinces of 1909. In a way, these provisions were not only inadequate but illiberal. The Mysore State Congress which had non-cooperated with the work of the Committee towards the close of the sittings of the Committee, rejected the reforms as unsatisfactory and not worthwhile to accept. The main criticism of Congress was that the failure of the Government to incorporate the Responsible Government as the goal. This indicated the mind of the Government which was unwilling even to recognise such right in the near future.

Another criticism levelled against the Act was that the reforms committee had recommended the declaration of the goal as the responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. In this scheme, the administration had to be entrusted to a Cabinet of Ministers appointed by His Highness the Maharaja enjoying his confidence and the support of the legislature subject to ensuring peace, order, and good Government and also safeguarding the interests of the minorities as well as satisfying the terms of treaties with the British Government. But, the present Act did not envisage any such goal on the plea that 'we are passing through times of such rapid changes that it is impossible for any one to foresee the trends of political activities a decade ahead'.* On the same pretext, the suggestion of the Committee about the Judiciary was not considered.

The Committee had listed about twelve fundamental rights to be guaranteed to the people of Mysore. This suggestion was also not incorporated in the Act on the ground that these rights were being

14. Ibid., Sec.36.

*As cited in Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, 1939, p.29.

enjoyed by the people of Mysore under the benign rule of the Maharaja. Hence, it would be superfluous to add these rights.

The most peculiar feature of the new Act was the composition of the Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja. This Cabinet was comprised of five Ministers in addition to the Dewan. Out of them, three were officials and two non-officials, and the Dewan was the President of the Council. In the nature of the composition, the non-official members could not pull much weight in the Executive Council. Even in the selection of these two non-official members or Ministers, the principle of majority support was not involved as the method of selection was left to the discretion of His Highness the Maharaja.

The only merit was that for the first time the non-official element was introduced into the Executive Council, though it did not make any difference in responsibility between the two sections of the Executive. Both of them held office at the pleasure of the Maharaja and could be removed at will. Thus there was not much change in the composition and powers of the Executive Council, except for the fact that they were partly chosen by an enlarged electorate.

Another deficiency of the legislature was that in Mysore the Representative Assembly which was considered as lower house, was given a subordinate place in the legislative process and it had no effective control over either Finance or law-making.

Further, the introduction of communal electorate for minority in both the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was a retrograde measure as it injected suspicion and disharmony among different communities which had happy harmony all these years.

Demise of Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV :

Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV who had all along evinced keen interest in the consistent progress of constitutional development in the State, promulgated an order on 13th April, 1940 to give effect to the Government of Mysore Act, 1940. When the arrangements were in progress to constitute the Legislative and the Executive bodies under the new Act, unfortunately Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar passed away on 3rd August, 1940. He was succeeded by his nephew Sri Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar in September, 1940.

Gandhiji Counsels the Congress :

The General Elections to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were scheduled to be held in February, 1941. The Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee which non-cooperated by withdrawing from the deliberations of the Constitutional Reforms Committee had rejected the reformed Act as retrograde measure. But, on the advice of Gandhiji Congress entered the election arena with the objective

of continuing the agitation on two different but parallel lines, *i.e.*, by means of direct action in the form of non-cooperation and also by means of Parliamentary action in the Houses of the Legislature.

The elections under the Government of Mysore Act, 1940 were held in February, 1941. The Congress Party was becoming popular in the State. This was indicated in the Municipal elections held previously in the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore. All the contested seats were won by the Congress and also for the first time Congress nominees were elected as the President and Vice-President of the Bangalore Municipal Council. Even in the District Board elections Congress won 120 seats out of 134 seats in the various District Boards. Three District Boards elected Congress nominees as Presidents. The Government became cautious about the Congress popularity and this resulted in creating suspicion among the Congress circles.

Congress Memorial :

To ensure free elections, Congress submitted a memorial to His Highness the Maharaja listing a number of obstacles put by the Government. 'Our election campaign is obstructed officially in a variety of ways. Innumerable prohibitory orders are being passed almost in every part of the State preventing meetings, processions, music, tam tam, propaganda, slogans, use of loud speakers and so on. Amildars and Sub-Division Officers go about with rival candidates canvassing support for them as against the Congress candidates.

Ryots conferences, Cattle shows, Jatras and similar gatherings are called under official auspices and rival candidates held up for public support as against Congress candidates. People are threatened and coerced into opposing the Congress and everything is done to terrorise them into keeping aloof from the Congress. The injustice is daily growing and is becoming a menace to the freedom and purity of the elections.

Not content with such unjust interference with the election propaganda, the authorities have made a drive against the Congress candidates so as to defeat many of them—nearly a third of their number—from standing at all as candidates. Most of our Congress leaders are unnecessarily and unjustly held disqualified and the names of prominent Congress workers omitted in the final list of voters. The Congress put up 232 candidates for the Assembly out of the total of 298 seats open for election and thirty to the Legislative Council out of the available forty four. In the name of the scrutiny of the notices of candidature, nearly 80 of the Assembly and 10 of the Council have been thrown out. The reasons given for rejection of these notices are trivial and maticulously technical such as the failure to mention his exact date of birth, to give the age in years, months, and days, to sign

one's name exactly as it appears in the voters' list though there could be no doubt whatever about the identity and so on'.[15]

Congress Leaders :

In the elections held in February 1941, the Congress party won 106 seats out of 232 candidates it fielded to the Representative Assembly, and 18 out of 30 candidates contested the election to the Legislative Council. Sri K. Chengalaraya Reddy was chosen as the Leader of the Congress party in the Representative Assembly and Sri T. Mariyappa as the Leader of the Legislative Council. After the elections the Congress party was in a better position to bargain with the Government as the two Houses provided ample opportunities to tackle the problems in a constitutional manner through Parliamentary methods.

New Executive Council :

Sometime after, Sri Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar came to throne and took over the reins of administration, Sir Mirza Ismail resigned and he was succeeded by Sri N. Madhava Rao, as Dewan in May 1941. The New Executive Council under Dewan N. Madhava Rao comprised of two non-official Ministers and two Councillors. The two non-official Ministers Sri H. B. Gundappa Gowda and Sri J. Mahamed Imam were drawn from the Representative Assembly. These two Ministers were responsive but not responsible to the Legislature.

New Houses Inaugurated :

The newly constituted houses the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were inaugurated on 9th June, 1941 by His Highness the Maharaja Sri Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar with the following words : 'Those who watched the origin and growth of our Political Institutions have noted that Mysore has always been in the vanguard of progress. Our Representative Assembly was started 60 years ago when the principle of representative institutions was little known and practiced in the continent at any rate in Indian India'.[16]

Working of the Legislative Council :

The first session of the Legislative Council, reconstituted under the Government of Mysore Act, 1940, was held on 23rd June 1941, with Sri D. H. Chandrasekharaiah in the Chair. Under the new Act, provision was made to elect the President of the Legislative Council from among its members but the first non-official President of the Legislative Council was not elected but appointed by the Maharaja.

15. Memorial submitted by Mysore Congress to His Highness the Maharaja, 26-1-1941.
16. Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar, *Speeches*, 1940-44.

Leader of the House, Sri K. V. Anantharaman, Minister for Revenue and Finance offered felicitations to the President and gave assurance of the co-operation of the House in his orduous and important duties. In his reply, the President assured the House that he would sincerely try to discharge his onerous functions in a just, independent and impartial manner and zealously uphold the dignity and prestige of the House.

On the very next day elections were held to select the Deputy President. Out of the four candidates that stood for election, Mr. M.C. Linge Gowda, a member from the general rural constituency of Mandya, secured the highest number of votes, was declared elected as Deputy President of the Council. On 25th June, the President announced the nomination of a panel of Chairmen of the Council under legislative rule 6 (1).

Committees :

Under Standing Order 57, the President nominated four members to the Committee on Petitions with the Deputy President as Chairman. The first Public Accounts Committee with four members, a panel of standing Committee for railways, electrical and public works departments, a panel of standing committee for local self-Government and the Department of Medicine, sanitation and Public Health, and a panel of standing committee for finance and taxation with ten members for each of these panels were elected by the Council.[17] In addition to these bodies, Library Committee, House Committee, Privileges Committee and Mysore Public Health Board were also constituted.

Questions :

In the very first session of the Legislative Council, 89 starred and 69 unstarred questions were admitted and out of them 75 starred and 55 unstarred questions were furnished with printed replies. Of the starred questions, only 42 were put on the floor of the Council and 1259 supplementaries were asked. On the closing day, the President requested the Leader of the House to see that answers to all the questions were furnished.[18]

In the second session of the Council, one hundred and forty four starred questions and twenty nine unstarred questions were admitted. Answers were furnished to 112 starred and 27 unstarred questions and 1196 supplementaries were asked. For the first time a short notice question regarding the recognition of Medical Degrees by the All India Medical Board was admitted and answered on the floor of the House.

17. L.C. Proceedings, 30-6-1941.
18. Ibid., 4th July, 1941.

Adjournment Motions :

Three adjournment motions dealing with (i) situation created by the sudden and abnormal rise in prices of food-stuffs, *etc.*, (ii) Labour situation in Bhadravathi Iron and Steel Works and prohibitory and externment orders promulgated in that connection; (iii) Irregularity in the conduct of Botany B.Sc. (Hons.) examination, 1941, were admitted and disposed of.

In the third session, one hundred and sixty nine starred questions including one short notice question relating to the quartering of Military near the Maharani's College, and Hostel for Women as well as in residential quarters, and 29 unstarred questions were admitted. Printed answers were furnished to 135 starred and 25 unstarred questions and 1768 supplementaries were asked. Two adjournment motions dealing with evacuation of 40 villages in Devanahalli taluk every day between 5 a.m. to 6 p.m. and the issue of notices of services to employees of mining companies in Kolar Gold Field. The first was disallowed by the Dewan and the second was withdrawn.

Bills Passed :

In the first session of the Legislative Council, the Registration of Foreigners' (Amendment) Bill, the Mysore European British Subjects Reinstatement Bill, the Railway Lands Bill, the Matches (Excise) (Amendment) Bill, the Sale of Goods (Amendment) Bill, were considered and passed into law.

The Leader of the House moved a resolution on 23rd June, 1941 to fix the salary of the Deputy President at Rs. 200/- per mensem. An amendment was moved to substitute Rs. 500/- for Rs. 200/-, but lost, by 2 voting for and 46 against. The original resolution was adopted, 49 voting for and 3 against. Of the 38 non-official resolutions balloted only two dealing with—(i) abolition of the system of nomination and reservation of seats for Harijans in the Local Bodies; (ii) Committee to suggest measures for the gradual introduction of prohibition throughout the State were considered.

Privilege :

The question of privileges was discussed on several occasions in the Legislative Council. In the very first session, attention was drawn to an article published in the Newspaper '*Deshabhandu*' commenting on the conduct of members in putting supplementaries on a question of patronage to Newspapers. After discussion it was finally ruled that the article in question had transgressed the limits of fair criticism in

making imputations of malice and hatred to the members for what they had asked as a matter of public duty.[19]

On another occasion the Leader of the House invited attention to an incorrect report of the proceedings made in the daily news. The liability for incorrect publication was pointed out and the Newspapers were warned to note the same. On 8th December, 1942 a special motion was moved on the arrests of eight members of the House under the Defence of India Rules as applied to Mysore. The members contended that these arrests and detention under an Executive authority constituted a breach of privilege of this House and urged the appointment of a Committee for a careful investigation of the issue. The motion was negatived after a division. [20]

The question of preventive arrest and detention of members of the Council and the right of the members to make interruptions on the floor and the authority of the President to exercise disciplinary control over the members came up again before the House.

Privileges Committee :

With a view to consider and advice upon questions connected with the privleges of the members individually and collectively and of the constitution of a Committee of privileges by President was felt necessary. Therefore, rules were framed for constitution and functions of such Committee. Accordingly, rules were issued by the Government on 6th January, 1943. The first Committee of privileges with four elected and two nominated members,* came into existence on 25th June, 1943. Soon after its constitution, the Committee held two meetings to consider the complaint of Sri D. S. Mallappa.

On 3rd July, 1943, Sri D. S. Mallappa, member representing the General Rural—Tumkur Constituency, made a complaint against a leading article in the Newspaper *'Tai Nadu'*. All these matters were referred to the Committee of Privileges for enquiry and report. Three reports of the Committee of Privileges were presented to the House on 10th December, 1943. The complaint against *Tai Nadu* was dropped on the recommendation of the Committee. The report on the general questions of privilege and on preventive arrests and detention of members were considered by the House in detail and finally resolved to submit the two reports in question to the Government for suitable action. [21]

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19. L.C. Proceeding, 1st July, 1941.
20. Ibid., 8th July, 1942.
    *Elected : L. S. Raju, A. Bhimappa Naik, D. S. Mallappa, O. S. N. Shariff ; Nominated : C. Narayanaswamy Naidu, M. Ramachandra Rao.
21. L.C. Proceedings, 3rd July, 1944.

Legislative Business :

The Legislative functions of the Council were divided into legislative work and financial business. In the first year of the Legislative Council twenty bills were introduced and moved for consideration. Out of them seventeen bills were considered by the House clause by clause and finally passed into law. The remaining three bills, *viz.*, the Mysore Labour Bill, the Maintenance Orders Bill, the Debt Conciliation Bill were referred to Select Committee and after receiving the Select Committee Report the bills were also passed by June 1942.

On 11th December, 1942 the House accepted a proposal to set up a convention to allow twenty four hours time between the stages of introduction and consideration in respect of both official and non-official bills. In the same session eighteen bills were introduced out of them eleven were considered clause by clause and passed. Seven were referred to Select Committee and the Mysore Silk Worm Diseases Control Bill which was one of them was passed on 12th December, 1942 as reported by the Select Committee. The remaining six bills were passed on 21st June, 1943. In this session twenty two bills were introduced. Twenty were passed into law and the two were referred to the Select Committee.

Another improvement in the legislative procedure from this session onwards was that whenever a bill was sent to Select Committee the report of the bill by Select Committee was re-published for the information of the members. During sessions upto December 1944, as many as forty four bills were introduced in the Council. Six were referred to Select Committees. Altogether thirty five bills were passed into law and nine bills were not proceeded with when the term of the House came to a close after the December session, 1944. The main bills passed in this session included City of Bangalore Improvement Bill, the Mysore Prison Amendment Bill, the Bill for Prohibition of Beggary, the Mysore Motors Vehicles and Road Traffic Bill and the Mysore Elementary Education (Amendment) Bill.

The Legislative business was further improved by including a detailed programme of business of the session indicating more precisely the dates on which the main items of business would be transacted. Both the list and the Order of business were issued together in a book form.

Financial Business :

The Leader of the House introduced the Budget in the Legislative Council for the year 1941-42 on 23rd to 27th June, 1941, and thirty one members, of whom three were official members, took part in the deliberations. Voting for demands for Grants went on for three days, *i.e.*, 30th June, 1st and 2nd July, 1941. Thirteen demands out of a

total of forty four came under discussion. Nineteen cut motions were moved, out of two hundred and seventy four tabled in the first session. Of the forty four demands, twelve were withdrawn after discussion, two were put to vote and lost and one inviting attention of the Government to the injustice of not admitting Harijans into any Muzarai Temples and of appointment if need be, of a Committee to ascertain public opinion on this subject, was adopted without a division. The rest of the demands numbering thirty one were guillotined.

Supplementary Expenditure :

Voting of demands for supplementary and addítional grants for the year 1940-41 was considered by the House on 28th June, 1941. Twenty three demands came up for discussion. There were general observations in respect of ten demands and five cut motions were moved and withdrawn after discussion. The remaining thirteen demands were guillotined on the same day. The demands for excess grants for the year 1939-40 were moved in an omnibus form on 22nd December, 1941 but the members pointed out the correct procedure. Then, a scheme of thirteen demands for excess grants was first presented and the demands were moved next day each separately in an improved form and adopted. The report of the Public Accounts Committee on the appropriation accounts of 1939-40 was presented and moved for consideration of the House. It was discussed and adopted on 17th December, 1941.

In the Budget session of July, 1942, suggestions were made for improving the procedure regarding Budget discussion and voting of demands for grants. Twenty minutes were given to each member and a period of an hour and a half was set apart for official replies at the close of dicusssion. Thirty six members including nine official members took part in the discussion. In accordance with Section 34 of the Government of Mysore Act. the Government was asked to prepare and lay before the Legislative Council, a schedule of authorised expenditure authenticated by the signature of the Dewan. Accordingly, the schedule of authorised expenditure for the year 1942-43 was laid on the table for the first time on 7th July, 1942.

In reviewing the financial business on 30th June, 1943, reference was made to the need for mutual accommodation and adjustment among the non-official members themselves to make the discussion of financial business effective and useful. In the June session of 1943, suggestions were offered to the Government in regard to financial business, and particularly the form of the Budget. Several of the suggestions made in consultation with the Officers of the Finance and Accounts Department were accepted and put into effect in the budget of 1943-44.

Introducing the Budget in June, 1943 the Finance Secretary, Sri B. S. Raghavendra Rao, stated 'the Prsident of the Council was

good enough to favour the Finance Department with several suggestions regarding the exact form in which the annual financial statement is to be presented to the Legislative Council so as to be in strict accord with the requirement of the Government of Mysore Act and the Rules thereunder, and also with the practice obtaining in the legislature in the Britisih Indian Provinces. These changes have been accepted by the Government and incorporated in the Budget presented now'.[22]

Working of the Representative Assembly :

The Representative Assembly which was brought into integral relationship with the Legislative Council began to function under the consolidated law which was promulgated under the Government of Mysore Act, 1940. The right of being consulted with regard to general principles of proposed measures of legislation was widened to a great extent. Every such legislative measure before it was introduced in the Legislative Council had to be considered by the Representative Assembly not merely the general principles of the bill but also of proposing amendments to any of the principles. Further, the system of selecting the subjects at the meetings of the members of each district was abolished and each member was made eligible to send one question, and one resolution directly to the Secretary of the Representative Assembly.

In the very first two sessions held, one in October, 1940 and the other in June 1941, the general principles of fourteen bills were considered and accepted by the Assembly except the bills to amend the Mysore City Municipalities Act, 1933 and Matches (Excise Duty Amendment) Bill. In the next sessions of the year 1941-42 three hundred and ninety three questions were put. Replies were furnished for three hundred and twelve. Sixty five were answered at the close of the sessions. One hundred and sixty nine resolutions were placed on the agenda for consideration and five resolutions were moved and discussed. Out of four hundred twenty three representations submitted, one hundred sixty three were taken up and discussed.

In one of its sessions, the House unanimously approved the recommendation of a special Committee constituted under the Chairmanship of D. H. Chandrasekhariah that the Assembly should meet thrice a year.

During the year 1941-42 as many as thirty three enactments including the Registration of Foreigners (Amendment) Act, the Mysore Labour Act and an Act to amend the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act were passed into law. In the two sessions of Representative Assembly, one in October 1942, and the other in June 1943 general principles of forty one bills were considered with the exception

22. L.C. Proceedings, 21-6-1943.

of the Collective Fines Bill. One non-official bill on the Agenda, *viz.*, the Child Marriage Restraint Bill was not placed before the House as the member who had given notice of it was absent from the meeting of the Assembly. In the same session a resolution recommending to the Government that a provision of one crore rupees be made in the budget under item of War expenditure to push on with the Grow More Food Campaign, in the State, was passed by an overwhelming majority of the House.

In the sessions held between 1942-44 the general principles of sixty three bills were approved. Six hundred and nine questions were admitted. Replies were furnished to as many as five hundred twenty three questions, and of these two hundred thirty five were discussed. Answers were received for fifty six questions after the sessions were concluded. Six hundred thirty six representations were admitted in the Representative Assembly, of these two hundred and twelve were taken up for discussion. Special representations dealing with the control of prices and supply of food stuffs, strikes of the University students, the accident to the generating station at Sivasamudram and hardship caused by the paper control and economy order were discussed in detail. Out of the five hundred fifty eight resolutions moved on the floor of the House, thirty nine were discussed during sessions, nine resolutions were passed by the House and the remaining thirty were withdrawn by the movers.

Organisation of Separate Department of Legislature :

Organisation of an independent Secretariat for the Legislature came up for discussion in both Houses on several occasions. All these years, the old office of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was an associate office of the General and Revenue Secretariat, helped the President in carrying on his functions. The sessional work was performed in accordance with a Calendar drawn up for the purpose. Since the two Houses came to be organised under a consolidated law, the Government of Mysore Act, 1940, it was considered necessary to improve the manner and methods of working of the Chambers, on the lines of the practice and procedure adopted in advanced legislatures like the Central Legislature at New Delhi.

In order to acquaint themselves, the President and the Secretary of the Legislative Council visited the Central Legislature during the Autumn Session and studied its working from 27th October to 18 November, 1941. The results of the study and the observations were conveyed to the members of the Council in an informal meeting on 19th December, 1941 in the Council Hall in the presence of the Dewan.

The question of a separate office for the Legislative Council in view of the powers and privileges of the President *vis-a-vis* his office came up for consideration in June-July session in 1942. The proposals for reorganising the office of the Legislative Council and placing it under proper discipline and supervision were formulated for submission to the Government. A statement on the subject was made on the floor of the Council on 4th July, 1942. Soon after the session, a comprehensive and detailed scheme for re-organising the office of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was prepared and submitted to the Government on 23rd December, 1942, for approval. The scheme proposed to bifurcate the two offices and entrust each office with such work as would properly fall within the purview of Legislative Chambers.

The work relating to the drafting of legislative measures, the holding of elections and issuing of Rules and Notifications was to be entrusted to this Office. The manner of dealing with matters like the holding of a session, marking of files, supplying extracts of proceedings, *etc.*, was to be settled in consultation with the Government. The Government after careful consideration conveyed that in view of the additional expenditure involved in the proposed re-organisation, for the continuing the existing arrangement as a temporary measure but with a set of definite and clear rules for working the combined office on proper lines. Matters like expenditure, registers, and other papers relating to the Assembly and the Council were to be kept separate by the department so as to fecilitate it possible to separate the office without delay and least inconvenience.[23]

Reporting the Debates :

The issue of reporting the debates of the Legislature engaged the attention of the House. The services of the Reporters were made available to the Committees of Government during off-sessions. The question of fixing the pay and grade of Reporters, both English and Kannada was also under consideration of Government. The sessional period was usually one of great strain to the officials and menials as they were often required to work overtime. A recommendation to grant some allowance to those persons was accepted by the Government and sanction was accorded for a lumpsum amount of Rs. 100/- for each session for disbursement to those who worked overtime.

Independent Legislature Office :

The organisation of independent office for the Legislature took definite shape during the year 1944. The Government Order embodying the main features was issued on 27th January, 1944.[24] Accordingly, a

23. Note dated 23-12-1942, by the President, L.C.
24. Order No. 2766.85-C.B. 125-43-1, dated 27-1-1944.

separate and independent department under the main control and direction of the President, Legislative Council subject to the general supervision of the Dewan, was created.

Legislature Secretary :

The department comprised of the Secretary to the Legislature, a Superintendent and such number of Office Assistants, Reporters, Stenographers, Copyists, Watch and Ward persons and menials as may, from time to time, be sanctioned by the Government in consultation with the President of Legislative Council. The Secretary was appointed by the Government on the recommendation of the President of the Legislative Council. His emoluments are such as directed by the Government.

The President had the power to delegate to the Secretary such of his powers of control as may be necessary and these powers could be withdrawn at any time he thinks fit. The Secretary was, subject to the approval of the President, in immediate charge of the clerical and menial establishments and was responsible for efficient and smooth working of the Office. He was also authorised to incur ordinary contingent charges within the budget provision of the Chambers.

The members of the ministerial establishment of the office were appointed by the President of the Legislative Council in consultation with the President of the Representative Assembly in accordance with the rules of recruitment applicable to the staff of General and Revenue Secretariat. In addition to this, the President of the Council had a small personal establishment under his direct control. [25]

Rules Regulating the Procedure of Legislature Department :

In order to regulate the procedure of the Office of the Mysore Legislature, the Government in consultation with the President of the Legislative Council issued certain rules concerning the following matters :

(a) The files and the Registers of the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council were kept separate and matters relating to each Chamber were carried on under the direct control and guidance of the President of the Chamber concerned.

(b) All correspondence was addressed by the Secretary of Legislature to the Secretary to Government in the department concerned. The correspondence with the Dewan was demi-official.

(c) The Secretary was the drawing and controlling Officer in regard to financial matters. The Secretary in all his functions was subject to the ultimate authority and control of the Presidents of the two Chambers.

25. Mysore Legislature Office Rules, 1944, Sec.11.

The Dewan was kept informed by the Secretary through the President on matters of importance arising in the course of the working of the Office of Mysore Legislature.

Under the new Act, the Office of the President Legislative Council, was transforemd to be one of dignity, honour and prestige. Suggestions were made to the Government in matters of prescribing the dress to be worn by the President of the Legislative Council. The Government approved the dress by an order on 6th July, 1944 to be worn by the President when presiding over the meetings of the Council. The details of the dress were lounge suit, lace turban and an overall black Silk Gown similar to the Gowns used by the Judges of the High Court, and white Bands.[26] The President, when presided over the session on 7th July, 1944, used the Gown and Bands, the official dress, for the first time.

More Fecilities :

On the last day of the first session of the Legislative Council *i.e.*, on 4th July, 1942, the members put forward a number of suggestions for enhancing the usefulness of the Chamber and for improving the facilities available to them. The important suggestions were: allotment of large number of days for each session; introduction of Canteen system in the place of free lunch; organisation of separate library for the members; construction of a separate Hall with improved acoustics for holding sessions, *etc.*, The President of the Council requested the Leader of the House, Mr. K. V. Anantharaman, Minister for Revenue and Finance to take note of the suggestions and assured the members that whatever fell within the scope of the powers vested in him would be attended to in due course.[26a]

Legislature Library :

The question of organising a well equipped library engaged the attention of the members soon after the close of the first session. At the request of the President of Legislative Council, the Government allotted a sum of rupees two thousand for the purpose and a Committee was also constituted under the Chairmanship of the President of the Council with seven members including the Chief Secretary to Government for selection of books.

The first Library Committee meeting was held on 19th December, 1941, and framed rules for working of the Library. The Library was provided with local and national newspapers for the benefit of members. The Government transferred the back and current volumes of the Hansard

26. G.O No. R.L. 57-58 L.C. 2-44-1, dated 6-7-1944.

26a. The Mysore Legislative Council, part II, p.7.

and Blue Books to the Library. After sometime, it was considered desirable to make legislative provision for constituting a library committee. Thus a Legislative Rule No. 82 was issued by the Government in May 1943.[27] Hereafter, the members of the Legislature were permitted to borrow books both during session and non-session days.

Watch and Ward :

To ensure security and orderly working of the Houses it was considered necessary to post suitable staff for purposes of Watch and Ward. Arrangements were made to commission the services of eight civic Guards. The galleries of the Houses were classified and brought under the operation of prescribed rules.

In 1943, New Regulations were issued allotting seats to the members in the Council Hall. A seating plan was made available to the members and members were required to occupy the seats marked for them.[28]

Press Gallery Committee :

Ever since the inception of the Representative bodies in Mysore, recognised representatives of the Press enjoyed various kinds of facilities. With a view to regulate the admission of the Press representatives to the Press Gallery of the Legislature, it was decided on 31st January, 1944 to form a Press Gallery Committee for each session of the Legislature. The first Press Gallery Committee which met on 16th June, 1944 comprised of Sri L. A. Amrit of *The Hindu,* P. B. Srinivasan of the *Tai Nadu,* M. L. Srikantaiya of the *Matrubhumi,* Ghouse Mohiyuddin of the *Al-Kalam* and Sri Venkoba Rao of the *Deshabandhu.*[29] This Committee was consulted on matters that arose out of the administration of the Press Gallery. A Press tent with telephone *etc.,* was put up in the premises of the Legislative Council Hall for the use of the Press Representatives at the time of the Session.

27. Legislative Rule-82, dated 26-5-1943.
28. M.L.C.S.O. 19, 1943.
29. The Mysore Legislative Council, p.51.

Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore

Transforming of the Legislature

Chapter VIII

Elections of 1945 :

The Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were dissolved after completion of the term and fresh elections were notified in January 1945. In the elections of February 1945, the Congress Party secured one hundred twenty seats in the Representative Assembly and twenty seats in the Legislative Council. Sri Kengal Hanumanthaiah in the Representative Assembly and Sri Kyasamballi Chengalraya Reddy in the Legislative Council were elected as leaders of the Congress Party. Sri H. B. Gundappa Gowda, a former non-official Minister, was now elected as President of the Legislative Council. To satisfy the popular sentiments, one more non-official member was added to the Ministry. All the non-official Ministers—Dr. T. C. M. Royan, Janab O. S. N. Sheriff and Sri L. Siddappa were considered as loyalist and were drawn outside the Congress Party.

Parliamentary Battle :

Technically, the Ministers were appointed by the ruler but the choice was that of Dewan as President of the Council. In the selection of the Ministers, the Congress Party which was the largest single party in both the houses, was neither consulted nor was offered any seat in the Ministry, by the Dewan. Dewan's attitude was taken by the Congress party as an affrontation and henceforth it decided to resist the autocratic attitude of the Dewan by obstructing the smooth working of the administration.

In the closing year of 1946 several districts in the State experienced food scarcity. Dewan N. Madhava Rao was not skilful enough to cope with the situation as he could not maintain the tight rein over the administration which had characterised Sir Mirza Ismail's period of administration. Public knowledge of official corruption in handling the food situation was so open that it became inevitable to appoint a Commission to devise anti-corruption measures.

The Congress party used every opportunity to discredit the Government and intensified its agitation both inside the houses and outside demanding more and more political concessions. Under the able leadership of Sri K. Hanumanthaiah, the Representative Assembly was converted into a constitutionnal battle ground between the Congress and the Government. In the Assembly the Congress party joined by some independent members tried to defeat several of the Legislative measures brought forward by the Government.

Parliamentary Delegation :

The successful termination of the World War-II, after victory to the Allies, brought far reaching changes both at National and International level. In the 1945 British elections, Labour Party under the leadership of Clement Attlee came to power in England. Unlike his predecessor, Prime Minister Attlee was genuinly interested in finding a solution to the Constitutional problem of India. Very soon British Government promised to set up a Constitution making Body immediately after the scheduled elections to the provincial legislature. While elections in various provinces were still in progress, the British Government decided to send a Parliamentary Delegation to India to create an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding between the two countries. The delegation after a month's tour of the country, meeting the leaders of various groups and political parties submitted a report on the political situation in India.

Cabinet Mission :

In the follow up action Lord Pethic Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, announced on 19th February 1946, in the House of Lords that a Cabinet Mission consisting of himself, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, first Lord of the Admirality would soon visit India to seek a settlement of Constitutional issue.[1] The Cabinet Mission arrived in India on 24th March 1946, held negotiations with leaders of India and tried its best to bring the Congress and the Muslim League together but in vain. Yet, the Cabinet Mission put forward certain best possible proposals which came to be known as the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Constituent Assembly :

One of the main proposals in the plan was the immdiate constitution of the constitution making body through indirect election as the direct election based on adult franchise would mean long delay. For the purpose of elections each province and State was allotted a

1. Menon V. P., The Transfer of Power in India, p.234.

number of seats proportional to its population and the ratio being one seat to a million population. By this arrangement Mysore State was entitled to send seven representatives to the Constituent Assembly if it decides to join the Constitution Making Body.

Lapse of Paramountcy :

On the future of Indian States the Cabinet Mission had stated that 'His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of Paramountcy. This meant that the rights of the States which flowed from their relationship to the Crown would no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power would return to the States. Political arrangement between the States on the one side and the British Crown on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either the States entering into a Federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or with them' [2] With the lapse of paramountcy, States became technically free to decide about their future political set up. This proposal became the object of close examination by the States and also created anxiety in them, of their future political status.

Wait and See Policy :

The elections to the Constituent Assembly were completed in all the British Indian Provinces by July 1946. Mysore State Congress was urging the Government of Mysore to join the Indian Dominion and participate in the Constituent Assembly. But the reaction of the Dewan was not forthcoming and he was watching the situation by a policy of wait and see. In the meanwhile, Dewan N. Madhava Rao relinquished his Office as Dewan of the State and little later became a member of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India.

New Dewan :

At this juncture, Mysore ruler was fortunate in securing the services of an experienced politician in India to head the administration when the State stood at the cross roads to decide its future. A distinguished administrator, Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, who until recently a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was appointed as Dewan of Mysore on 1st August, 1946. The new Dewan was expected to guide the Young Maharaja rightly and wisely when the State's problem reached a crucial stage. Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliyar accepted the office after persuading the Maharaja to agree for sharing the Executive power with loyal politicians on a larger scale.

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2. Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Mission to the Chamber of Princes on 12-5-1946.

In persuance of this policy, he endeavoured to build his loyalist counter force to Congress by organising the powerful and influential non-brahmin leaders. But, this attempt did not bring much enthusiasm among the people of Mysore since the Congress party also selected an equally dynamic leader Sri K. Chengalraya Reddy as its President to meet the new challenge of the changing situation at the State level.

Congress Party Activities :

The formation of Interim Government at the Centre in 1946 with Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-President gave fillip to Mysore Congress Party activities and enabled it to put up a strong fight for responsible Government in the State. A memorial signed by 202 members of the Representative Assembly was submitted by Sri K. Hanumanthaiah, leader of the Congress Party to His Highness the Maharaja urging the immediate establishment of responsible Government. As a follow up measure, the Representative Assembly rejected almost every Governmental measure proposed in the October session of 1946.

Amidst these happenings, fast changing situation appeared on the political scene of India by middle of 1946. Election to the Constituent Assembly of India were completed in most of the British Indian Provinces but the States were watching the situation with anxiety. Some States were toying with the idea of becoming independent as they were being completely freed form the obligations to the Paramount power. Some other States signed stand-still agreements pending final decision on this matter. Mysore State Congress expressed itself in favour of joining the national main stream and to participate in the Constituent Assembly. At the sixth session in November 1946, the Mysore Congress put forward that the Representatives of the State to the Constituent Assembly should be elected by the people directly or by the elected elements in the Legislature wherever they exist. Encouraged by the events at the national level, Mysore State Congress intensified its agitaton for further political reforms, specially for the formation of an interim ministry having the confidence and support of the Legislature.

Royal Message of 8th January, 1947 :

The Dewan acting with tact and wisdom to meet the political situation, advised the ruler to concede some of the demands of the Congress. Accordingly a Royal message was issued on 8th January, 1947 stating 'that the torch of the Constitutional progress had been handed down to me as a family heritage and that it was my ambition to ensure that its light did not glow dim, but will burn ever brighter with the passage of time. It has been the policy of the House of Mysore to follow the principles of associating the representatives of the people more and

more with the administration of Government. The place which Mysore will occupy and the part which it will play in any new structure which will be devised for British India are engaging the attention of my Government and people'. [3]

Thus the message directed the Dewan to review the whole position and submit a proposal for constitutional reforms in Mysore in the light of events and developments in the rest of India and also taking into consideration the desires and aspirations of the people of the State. Further the Maharaja desired that the purpose of the proposals must fulfil one great objective *i.e.*, ensuring equal opportunities for all and promoting the security, contentment and happiness of the people. Thereby, the Dewan was entrusted with the task of formulating the constitutional reforms in consultation with political parties and prominent individuals.

Consultative Committee :

Shortly after this proclamation, Dewan constituted a Consultative Committee comprising of fifteen members representing different political organisations and interests in the State to advice the Government on constitutional reforms.

Attlee's Announcement :

When the Dewan was busy consulting various political bodies for further proposals, British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee made a statement on 20th February, 1947 in the House of Commons indicating the necessary steps to effect the peaceful transfer of power to the Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948.

Simultaneously, Prime Minister Attlee announced the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy who would be entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the Government of British India in a manner that would best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India.

Mountbatten Plan :

In the early part of 1947 Lord Mountbatten assumed office as Viceroy and after a careful study of the political situation in India, took immediate steps to transfer power to Indians by creating two dominions namely Dominion of India and Dominion of Pakisthan which became inevitable under the prevailing political situation in India. He also advised Indian States on their own free will to accede to India or to

3. Royal Proclamation—dated 8-1-1947.

Pakisthan in their own interest as the paramount power would cease to exist from 15th August, 1947.

Mysore Joins Constituent Assembly :

After watching the developments on the national political scene, the Mysore Administration decided to join the Constituent Assembly of India. A joint session of the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly was convened on 5th July, 1947 to elect the representatives to the Constituent Assembly. The Government of Mysore proposed to get four representatives elected, two each from both houses of Legislature, and the other three nominated by the Ruler and making the Dewan leader of the delegation.

The Congress Party resented the method adopted by the Government to select the representatives and staged a walk-out in protest. Despite the protest by the Congress, the elections were held, and Sri H. R. Guruvareddy and Sri K. Chengalraya Reddy from the Legislative Council and Sri S. V. Krishna Murthy Rao and Sri D. H. Chandrasekharaiah from the Representative Assembly were elected. For the remaining three seats, Sri A. Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, Janab Mahamed Sheriff and Sri T. Channaiah were nominated.

Accession of Mysore :

As the political upheavals moving fast and the setting up of an independent Dominion of India was nearing, the newly created States Ministry under Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel in July 1947 promised the Princes an honourable place in the new political set up with personal rights and privileges and complete autonomy over all departments of Government except foreign affairs, defence and communication in exchange for their accession to the Indian Union.[4] In the meanwhile, Indian Independence Bill which was passed in British Parliament in a remarkably short space of time became law on July 18, 1947.

The Ruler of Mysore signed the Instrument of Accession on 9th August, 1947 and acceded to the Dominion of India.[5] Thereby the Ruler of Mysore accepted the obligation of giving effect to the laws of Dominion Legislature within the State but continued to exercise sovereignty in and over his State so far as internal administration was concerned.

Congress Party's Demands :

Even after Indian independence the political set up in Mysore State more or less continued in the same status as it was existing. The

4. Menon, V. P., The Integration of Indian States, p.95.
5. Instrument of Accession, Sec. 8, Govt. of Mysore Act, 1949, App. II.

Mysore State Congress which did not join the consultative Committee of Constitutional Reforms in Mysore continued its agitation for establishment of responsible Government in the State, and reiterated its demands for (i) the immediate establishment responsible Government; (ii) constitution of a Constituent Assembly for the State for the task of framing a Constitution; and (iii) to form an interim ministry having the support of the legislature.

To press for these demands, Mysore State Congress decided on 21st August, 1947 to launch a Statewide Sathyagraha from 1st September, 1947. The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress Party resolved to address a letter to His Highness the Maharaja to appraise him of the demands.[6] The Congress Party appealed to the people of Mysore to join this movement by observing *Haratal*, conducting processions, hoisting National Flag and holding public meetings and finally to offer Sathyagraha in front of the Mysore Palace on 11th September, 1947.

Mysore Chaloo :

The Dewan appealed to the Congress to desist from starting Sathyagraha movement and to give him sometime to consider the Congress demands. But, Congress thought that the Dewan was simply marking time and trying to divide the political forces in Mysore. Congress leaders toured the State for galvanising the support for their struggle which was to commence from 1st September 1947. The main slogan of the movement was "Mysore Chaloo." To meet the situation Dewan promulgated the Emergency Act on 28th August, 1947 and imposed pre-censorship on Newspapers. Newspapers like *Tai Nadu*, *Viswakarnataka* and *Janavani* suspended their publications in protest. Dewan tried to persuade the public by stating that the Government was going forward with major political reforms. These devises did not appeal to the people in general as the national events overwhelmed the general public. Moreover, most of the forefront leaders in Mysore were interested in the tangible rewards in the new political set up which was almost in sight.

Four Demands :

The struggle for responsible Government commenced with Mr. K. C. Reddy, President of the Congress Party addressing a mass meeting on 1st September, 1947 in Cubbon Pet at Bangalore where he put forward four demands:

(i) That a proclamation should be made by His Highness the Maharaja declaring the aim of the new Constitution would be the establishment responsible Government in the State;

6. Working Committee Resolution—21-8-1947.

(ii) that the present Government be dissolved and interim Ministry be established forthwith;

(iii) that a Constituent Assembly be formed of People's representatives to draft the new Constitution of the State;

(iv) and that all the political prisioners including Sri K. Hanumanthaiah, leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly should be released.[7]

There was a good response from the people to the appeal of Sri K. C. Reddy and the agitation started in a non-violent atmosphere. As the agitation reached fourth day the Police arrested almost all the top leaders of the Congress Party. These arrests further provoked the people and resulted in intensification of the movement all over the State in the form of picketing before the Government Offices and Toddy shops, hoisting of national flag on Government buildings, and violation of prohibitory orders.

Railway Strike :

The situation took a serious turn when the Mysore Railway Workers' Union went on strike for higher wages. The Railway strike threatened the distribution of meagre supplies to the already existing food shortage in the State. By the end of second week, Law and order problem increased. Police resorted to firing in several places which resulted in loss of life and injuries to several hundreds of people. Mysore authorities came under clear pressure from outside when large number of volunteers from outside began to flock in the State.

The law and order situation worsened in a surprise development a large batch of Bangalore city Police Constables came out on a strike asking their colleagues to join them. At this stage of development several leaders of the State waited in deputation on the Dewan to open negotiation with Congress leaders. The mounting disorder and deteriorating situation in the State rendered the normal functioning of the Government difficult.

Royal Proclamation :

Amidst mounting disorder, Dewan announced on 24th September, 1947 constitutional reforms and ordered the release of all political prisoners on 2nd October, 1947, Gandhi Jayanthi Day and simultaneously opened negotiations.[8] Accordingly a proclamation was issued by His Highness the Maharaja on 24th September, 1947 commanding his Dewan to submit proposals in consultation with the political bodies and associations and individuals and after taking into consideration the

7. Indian Express dated 2-9-1947.
8. Royal Proclamation—24-9-1947.

course of events and trends of political discussion in the rest of India, and a constitutional bill establishing responsible Government embodying the fundamental principles enunciated in the Schedule-I of the proclamation which are in accordance with the wishes of the people expressed through their representatives. [9]

Further, the Dewan was directed to take all consequential actions and to obtain the advice and counsel of a Committee elected by the legislature and of such other experts and expert bodies as might be found suitable and desirable. [10]

Main Principles :

The main principles enunciated in the reforms were the establishment of two Houses of legislature. The existing Representative Assembly to be a full-fledged Popular House elected from territorial multi-member Constituencies. The Legislative Council to become a second Chamber comprising of members partly nominated and partly elected members from such constituencies as may be determined.

The Lower House was to be constituted on the basis of adult franchise on the principle of or system of cumulative voting or the limited vote. Provision was to be made for the reservation of seats for the depressed classes and for minorities. [11]

A Council of Ministers was to be formed from the elected members of legislature to aid and advice the Maharaja on all subjects except the matters relating to the Ruler, his prerogatives, succession to the throne, the Palace and Privy Purse. [12]

The other subjects which were kept out of the jurisdiction of the Ministry were :

(a) Constitutional relationship of the State with the dominion of India as defined in the Instrument of Accession ;
(b) High Court and the appointment of Judges, the Chairman and members of Public Service Commission and the Auditor General ;
(c) the Military ;
(d) the protection of the legitimate interests of minorities ;
(e) the summoning and dissolving of the Legislature ;
(f) the superintendence, direction and control of elections ;
(g) residuary powers and emergency powers in case of breakdown of the Constitution. [13]

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9. Ibid., Sch. I.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., Sch. I.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., Sch. II, Sec. I to 8.

The Government further announced the withdrawal of the censorship on the local papers and also ban on the entry into State of some outside papers.

While constituting the Council of Ministers, competent advice was to be taken from the leaders of political parties and groups in the legislature.

Compromise on Ministry and Consembly :

All the political leaders and prisoners were released by 7th October, 1947, including Sri K. Hanumanthaiah, Leader of the Congress party in the Representative Assembly. After a series of talks between the Dewan and the Congress President, former offered in the first meeting four of the nine seats in the Cabinet but the Congress party refused to accept the offer. On 11th October, 1947 at the second meeting Dewan agreed to leave six places to Congress and complete free hand in the constitution making process. The working Committee of the Congress accepted this offer and a press comminique was issued on the same day which stated 'As a result of these talks we have come to an agreed conclusion regarding the constitution of a fresh ministry and the method of constituting it. An agreement has also been reached on the method of setting up a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution bill providing for full responsible Government. [14]

Interim Ministry :

On 24th October, 1947 a Gazette extraordinary announced the appointment of the new Cabinet in Mysore with K. C. Reddy as Chief Minister. [15] Dewan continued as a link between the Cabinet and the Maharaja. The Cabinet was to act jointly and collectively responsible to the legislature, and was liable to vacate office on the vote of no confidence by the Representative Assembly. The Ministry was installed only for an interim period and this ministry was to help the formation of a Constituent Assembly comprising of seventy six members which must provide a constitution within a period of eight months.

Constituent Assembly of Mysore :

The entire State was divided into multi-member constituencies for the purpose of elections of Constituent Assembly. In the elections held in the early part of the year 1948, seventy six members were elected to the Constituent Assembly on the basis of one representative for

14. P. R. Ramaiah—op. cit., p.89.
15. H. C. Dasappa, K. T. Bhashyam, H. Siddaiah, T. Mariappa, R. Chennigaramaiah, M. D. Sheriff, D. H. Chandrasekharaiah and P. Subbarama Setty, were other Ministers.

every lakh of population through the existing limited franchise. The Constituent Assembly was set up as a result of direction contained in the proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja on 29th October, 1947.[16] It was entrusted with the task of framing a Constitutional bill which in turn provide for responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

The Inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly was held on 7th April, 1948 under the Chairmanship of Sri K. C. Reddy, the then Chief Minister who was nominated as temporary Chairman by His Highness the Maharaja. During the same session Sri Talekere Subramanya, a veteran Congress Leader and a member of the Constituent Assembly of Mysore, was unanimously elected as President of the Constituent Assembly.

The Constituent Assembly met in three sessions. The first session was closed on 8th April, 1948. During the second session the rules of procedure for Constituent Assembly were adopted and Sri Ganji Veerappa, an advocate from Davangere and a member of the Constituent Assembly was elected Deputy President of the House. In the third session, resolution regarding the aims and objects was unanimously passed. The resolution stated among other things that the State of Mysore should be an integral part of India and that the Constitution of a Sovereign Democratic Republic adopted for India by the people through their representatives in the Constituent Assembly of India, and the proposed constitution of Mysore should take the form to accommodate constitutional monarchy based upon the sovereignty of the people, and His Highness the Maharaja being the upholder of the Constitution.[17]

Committees :

The Assembly set up six Committees to assist the work of the Assembly in framing the Constitution. These Committees were the Fundamental Rights Committee, Minorities Rights Committee, Steering Committee, Staff and Finance Committee, House Committee and Main Principles Committee. After a recess of four months, Constituent Assembly met again on 29th September, 1948 to consider the interim reports of fundamental rights Committee and Minorities Rights Committee which were presented to the House. In the meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly of India which was at work since December 1946 to frame the constitution of India, was planning to establish a unified political structure to the States in the Indian Union.

In the light of this development, the Constituent Assembly of Mysore authorised the President to constitute a five-man Committee to

16. The Government of Mysore Act, 1940, as amended upto Dec. 1947.
17. Report of the Administration of Mysore—1947-48.

meet and discuss with the representatives of the Constituent Assembly of India the lines on which a model constitution for the States could be evolved. Accordingly, a delegation of five members under the leadership of Sri K. Hanumanthaiah proceeded to Delhi in November 1948 and had consultation with top leaders of the Constituent Assembly of India. [18]

The preliminary report of the Committee was presented to the President of the Constituent Assembly of India in February, 1949. A little later, in response to a communication received by the Government of Mysore from the Ministry of States, Government of India, stating that it had been decided to appoint a Committee to frame a model constitution for Indian States, further action in constitution making in the State was postponed. Pending the receipt of the Committee's report, further meetings of the Constituent Assembly of Mysore were not convened during the rest of the time.

Common Constitution for States :

The States Ministry set up a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir B. N. Rau, constitutional Advisor to the Constituent Assembly of India, to draft a model Constitution common to all the States. The draft constitution prepared by the Committee was discussed at the Chief Ministers' Conference in May 1949 and was by and large endorsed with certain modifications. This draft was circulated among the States in September, 1949. The Constituent Assembly of Mysore suggested certain amendments to the draft objecting particularly to the Article 371 which empowered the Union Government to Superintendent the Government of the States.[19] The Government of India gave assurance to treat the State of Mysore differently from the other States and Unions. Another objection raised was in respect of the term Rajapramukh in the place of Maharaja. The Government of India stated that it had no objection for the use of the title Maharaja for all internal purpose but officially the Head of the State must be called Rajapramukh in the light of the changed political structure of India.[20]

Cabinet Responsibility :

The interim cabinet headed by Sri K. C. Reddy was expected to be in office for about eight months. But after this period it became clear that the new constitution of Mysore which had to become the basis of the new Government was not in sight, at least in the near future. Along

18. Other members—H. K. Veeranna Gowda, S. Rangaramaiah, Ganji Veerappa and Bhimappa Naik.
19. This Article was altered as a result of Seventh Amendment Act, 1956.
20. Rajapramukhs were the former Rulers of Indian States who were recognised as Heads of Part B States.

the side of the Constituent Assembly, the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council in the State were functioning. Sri K. Hanumanthaiah, leader of the Congress Party in the Representative Assembly was vigorously campaigning that the Ministry should submit to the vote of confidence in the Representative Assembly to establish its credibility as the Ministry was formed by a Royal decree. [21] This demand was conceeded to in principle by the Cabinet in May, 1949. The peculiar position of the Ministry was that the Dewan and the Ministers were to function as a Cabinet acting on the basis of joint responsibility in all matters dealt with by the Council of Ministers and decisions arrived at by a majority of votes and that the Ministry was to continue in office so long as it enjoyed the confidence of the Legislature. [22]

Abolition of Office of Dewan :

But as it obtained under the situation the presence of Dewan in the Cabinet was considered to be not in tune with the spirit of Cabinet Government. Hence, some of the leading Congress men were pleading for the abolition of Dewanship. The winsome manners, administrative expertise, and wide range of experience of Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliyar influenced the Congress Ministers to welcome his presence to meet the executive problems to which they were quite new. The post of Dewan, an institution of about one hundred years standing which was adorned by a galaxy of very distinguished administrators and eminent statesmen was finally abolished on 6th August, 1949. [23]

Representative Bodies Dissolved :

To bring the political set up of Mysore State under the new constitution of India, a proclamation was issued by His Highness the Maharaja on 25th November, 1949, to ordain that the Constitution of India adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India shall be the Constitution for the State of Mysore and also that both the houses of Legislature in Mysore *i.e.*, the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council shall be dissolved on 15th December, 1949 ; that thereafter, until such time as the new House or Houses of Legislature of Mysore has or have been duly constituted and summoned to meet for the first session under the provisions of the Constitution of India, there shall be only one house of the Legislature to be known as the Legislative Assembly of Mysore. The Constituent Assembly of Mysore shall become on the 16th day of December, 1949 the Legislative Assembly

21. Royal Proclamation dated 29-10-1947.
22. Ibid., para 4.
23. The Government of Mysore (Second Amendment) Act, 1949.

of Mysore.[24] Accordingly, immediate action was taken by suitably amending the Government of Mysore Act to effect these changes.[25]

Provisional Legislature :

From 16th December, 1949 onwards the Legislative Assembly began to function as a unicameral legislature pending formation of a new Body under the Constitution of India.

When the Constituent Assembly adopted the new Constitution on 26th November, 1949, the provisions under Part VI of the Constitution were made applicable to the States of the Indian Dominion, including the State of Mysore.

Mysore—Part B State :

Under the Constitution, the Maharaja was designated Rajapramukh and Mysore was categorised as part-B State but was given the status of a part-A State. While under the Patel scheme of integration, the Indian States were integrated with India and Rulers losing their independence, there remained the relic of Indian States in the part-B States which formed a separate category of States in the Constitution of 1950. With reorganisation of States, part-B States were altogether abolished by a constitutional amendment in 1956 and those of them that retained their entity after reorganisation were placed on the same footing as that of other States.[26] The Institution of Rajapramukh was also abolished under the same amendment and was designated as Governor.

Rajapramukh :

Under the new Constitution, the Executive power of the Mysore State was vested in the Rajapramukh and was ordinarily exercised by him through his Council of Ministers. He was not to hold any other office of profit and must neither be a member of any House of Legislature or of Parliament. The Palaces of Mysore, Bangalore and other places were allowed to be owned by the Rajapramukh. His Privy Purse was fixed at Rupees Twenty Six Lakhs a year free from all taxes and this purse was paid out of the consolidated fund of India. He was also entitled to all the rights and privileges he had before the constitution came into force. The Privy Purse and Privilege of the Ruler continued till these were also abolished in 1971.[27]

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24. Proclamation dated 25-11-1949.
25. The Government of Mysore (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1949.
26. The Constitution (7th Amendment) Act, 1956.
27. The Constitution (Twenty sixth Amendment) Act, 1971.

K. C. Reddy Elected Leader :

Sri K. C. Reddy, Chief Minister of Mysore, had announced on 9th December, 1949 that the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly would elect a leader when it begins to function as Legislative Assembly of Mysore. In the leadership contest between K. C. Reddy and K. Hanumanthaiah, the former emerged as Leader of the Congress Party and continued in office as Chief Minister. In the Ministry, the three non-Congress Ministers were dropped and in place of them only one Minister was added to the existing five Ministers, thereby making the Ministry completely responsible to the legislature.

Election of Presiding Officers :

The first session of the Legislative Assembly commenced on 12th January, 1950 under the Chairmanship of Sri T. Siddalingaiah who had been appointed by His Highness the Maharaja to preside over that meeting of the Assembly pending election of the Speaker. At the same session Sri V. Venkatappa and Sri L. H. Thimma Bovi were unanimously elected as Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively. Elections were also held to the seven vacancies in the Mysore delegation to the provisional Parliament of India as well as other Committees of the Legislative Assembly.[28]

Legislative Assembly at Work :

As many as forty resolutions were tabled on the floor of the House. Out of them, eight were discussed, six were withdrawn, and the other two were pressed for the division and declared lost. In this session the Speaker set up a Committee consisting of six members of the Assembly with himself as the Chairman to revise the rules of procedure of the Assembly under Article 208 of the Constitution of India. The Speaker also referred the matters concerning the powers, privileges and immunities of the Legislative Assembly and its members to the Committee of privileges for an early report. At the remaining sessions of the Assembly during the period 1950-51 five hundred and fifty starred and eighty one unstarred questions were admitted. Answers were furnished to five hundred and eighteen starred and seventy six unstarred questions. Another two hundred and seventy six questions were admitted and answers were furnished to twenty four questions. Five Bills in the first session, fourteen Bills in the second session, eighteen Bills in the third session were passed into law. About nine Bills were referred to the select Committte. One hundred forty seven resolutions tabled by the members were admitted. Out of the twenty seven resolutions taken up for discussion, seventeen were withdrawn by the leave of the House and three were put to vote and negatived.

28. Report on the Administration of Mysore, 1949-50, p.15.

Out of seven adjournments tabled by the members, six were ruled out of order and one was not passed for discussion. A special motion to consider the question of delimitation of constituencies for the House of the people, and the State Legislature, the conduct of election therein and other incidental matters moved by the Minister for Law and Labour, Sri K. T. Bhashyam to ascertain the opinion expressed by the members was discussed and the special motion was adopted unanimously. Election to the House Committee, the Privilege Committee, the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and eleven standing Committees were held during the January session of 1951. A debate on the food situation in the State was initiated by the Home Minister Sri T. Mariyappa. The Minister for Finance and Industries Sri H. C. Dasappa presented the budget for the year 1951-52, and voting for demands for grants occupied five days. As many as twenty cut motions were discussed and withdrawn by the leave of the House. One was put to vote and negatived.

Legislature :

The new Constitution of India provided for a legislative body for Mysore consisting of Rajapramukh, the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The membership of the Legislative Assembly of Mysore then was ninety nine and all of whom were elected on the basis of adult franchise in single and double member constituencies. In the double member constituencies, nineteen seats were reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the State.[29] Further, the Rajapramukh was empowered to nominate such number of members of the Anglo-Indian community if he was of opinion that this community needs representation in the Assembly and is not adequately represented in the Assembly.[30] The strength of the Assembly is liable to be re-adjusted upon the completion of each census but under no circumstances the membership would exceed Five hundred and be less than sixty.[31] At present, the composition of the Legislative Assembly is two hundred and twenty five.

Duration of the Legislative Assembly :

The term of the Assembly is five years unless dissolved earlier or unless the President of India has declared that powers of the legislature of the State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of the Parliament in a case of emergency. While proclamation of an emergency is in operation, Parliament may by law extend the life of the Assembly for a period of not exceeding one year at a time and not

29. Report on the Administration of Mysore, 1951-52, Ch.1, p.2.
30. The Constitution of India—Art. 333.
31. Ibid., Art. 170 (1)

exceeding in any case beyond a period of six months after the proclamation has ceased to operate.[31a]

Speaker and Deputy Speaker :

The Karnataka Legislative Assembly has two elected Officers, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker to conduct the business of the House. The Speaker and The Deputy Speaker will normally hold Office during the term of the Assembly, but his office may terminate earlier by his ceasing to be a member of the Assembly ; by resignation in writing, addressed to the Deputy Speaker and *vice versa ;* by removal from office by a resolution, passed by a majority of all the then members of the Assembly. Such a resolution cannot be moved unless at least 14 days notice has been given of the intention to move the resolution. When a resolution for his removal is under consideration, the Speaker shall not preside, but he shall have the right to speak in, and to take part in the proceedings of the Assembly and shall also have a right to vote except in case of equality of votes.[32]

Normally at other meetings of the Assembly the Speaker presides. The Speaker will not vote in the first instance, but exercises a casting vote in the case of equality of votes to avoid a dead lock. The Speaker is the final authority to maintain order within the Assembly and to interpret its Rules of Procedure. It is the duty of the Speaker to adjourn the House or suspend the meeting until there is a quorum. Speaker's conduct in regulating the procedure or maintaining order in the Assembly will not be subject to the jurisdiction of any Court. Speaker endorses money bills with a certificate whenever it is transmitted to the other House.

The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker are paid the salaries and allowances as may be fixed by the Legislature by law. Whenever the Assembly is dissolved, the Speaker will not vacate his office until immediately before the first meeting of the Assembly after dissolution.

While the office of the Speaker is vacant, the duties of the office are performed by the Deputy Speaker or, if the office of the Deputy Speaker is also vacant, by such member of the Assembly as the Governor may appoint for the purpose. During the absence of the Speaker from the sitting of the Assembly the Deputy Speaker, or if he is also absent, such person as may be determined by the rules of procedure of the Assembly, or if no such person is present, such other person as may be determined by the Assembly shall act as Speaker.

31a. Ibid., Art. 172 (1).

32. Ibid., Art. 181 (2).

Leader of the House :

For the Legislative Assembly there is a leader of the House who is invariably consulted by the Presiding Officer in the matter of allotment of time for discussion of certain items of business and on all important matters concerning the House. According to the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the Leader of the Assembly has been defined as the Chief Minister or any member of the Council of Ministers appointed by the Government as Leader of the House.[33]

Leader of the Opposition :

The successful working of a Parliamentary system of Government depends upon the existence of an opposition party in the legislature. Before an opposition party could function in the House as such, it has to be recognised as an opposition party by the Speaker. Certain essential requirements have been laid down for the recognition of a party as an opposition party in the Assembly. The main requirements are that the party while applying for recognition should state its Parliamentary programme and furnish the names of the Office bearers and attach the signature of all the members of the party in token of their being members thereof. The members of the party should have at least a strength equal to the quorum fixed to constitute a sitting of the House. In case, it is not able to muster that much of strength, it is recognised as an opposition group, if it has a strength of at least three-fifth's of the quorum. The leader of opposition party is usually recognised as the Leader of the Opposition.

The Leader of the opposition is paid a salary of One thousand seven hundred fifty rupees per mensem. He is also entitled to use of a free furnished residence in the city of Bangalore throughout his term of office. He will be provided with a motor car and a conveyance allowance of Rupees Seven hundred fifty and a Stenographer and an attender to assist him.[34]

Legislative Council :

With the dissolution of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council in 1949, the Constituent Assembly of Mysore which was converted into Legislative Assembly was functioning as unicameral legislature, till fresh elections were held under the new constiution in 1952. During this period there was no Legislative Council in Mysore. The Constitution of India empowered the Parliament of India to abolish a Legislative Council by law where there is one and to create one where there is none if the Legislative Assembly of the State passes a resolution

33. Rules of Procedure and Conduct of the Business, Ch. I (2), 1958.
34. Karnataka Legislature Salaries (Amendment) Act, 1978, Sec. 10.

to this effect by a majority of the total membership of the Assembly and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Assembly present and voting.[35]

In 1952, after the first general elections, a Legislative Council was constituted in Mysore, which was then a part 'B' State, with forty two memoers .[36] Since then the strength of the Legislative Council has undergone considerable change to keep in line with the provisions of the Constitution, till 1956 the strength of the Legislative Council was one-fourth of the total membership of the Legislative Assembly of the State and the minimum was fixed at forty.[37] Under the Representation of the People Act, 1950 President has to determine the constituencies into which each State be divided; extent of each constituency and the number of seats allotted to each constituency. Thus President made the Delimitation of Council Constituencies order applicable to Mysore in 1951 and this has been modified by the Legislative Councils Act, 1957 and it was further amended from time to time. The composition of the Legislative Council varies with that of the Legislative Assembly—the membership of the Council being not more than one-third of the membership of the Legislative Assembly. The strength of the Legislative Council was sixty three, and now it has been raised to seventy five. In constituting the Legislative Council a combination of direct election, indirect election and nomination is in vogue.[38]

There are five different categories of representation and whose break up is as follows:

(a) As nearly as one-third of the members are elected by Electorate consisting of members of Local bodies such as Municipalities, District Boards, and other local authorities in the State, as Parliament may by law specify;

(b) as nearly as another one-third of the members are elected by members of the Legislative Assembly of the State from amongst persons who are not members of the Assembly;

(c) as nearly as one-twelfth of the members are elected by electorates consisting of persons residing in the State who have been graduates, for at least three years of any University in India or have been for at least three years in possession of qualifications equivalent to that of a graduate;

(d) as nearly as another one-twelfth are elected by the Electorates consisting of persons engaged for at least three years in teaching in

35. Constitution of India, Art. 169(1).
36. Art. 238 deleted by 7th Amendment Act, 1956.
37. Constitution of India, Art. 171 (1).
38. Ibid., Art. 171 (1).

educational institution within the State not lower in standard than secondary schools;

(e) the remaining are nominated by the Governor from among persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of matters like literature, science, art, co-operative movement and social service.[39]

Duration of the Council:

The Legislative Council is not subject to dissolution but as nearly as possible one-third of the members retire on the expiration of every second year.[40] To fill these vacancies biennial elections are held in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. The term of office of members other than the casual vacancies is six years. A member chosen to fill a casual vacancy will be in office for the remaining term of his predecessor.

Legislative Council must meet at least twice a year but the Governor may summon the Council from time to time as he thinks fit. Every members of the Legislative Council before taking his seat in the House must make and subscribe an oath of affirmation that he will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India and that he will uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India and faithfully discharge the duty upon which he is about to enter.[41] Failure to take oath involves penalty.

Qualification for Membership.

There is no special qualification fixed for those seeking election to the Legislative Council except one of age. In addition to the qualifications fixed for members of Legislative Assembly a person to sit in the Council should have attained the age of thirty years.[42] Most of these qualifications were already in operation for the membership of the Legislative Council under the Government of Mysore Act, 1940. These qualifications are mentioned both under the provisions of the Constitution as well as the Representation of the People Act, 1951. To fill a seat in the Legislative Council one must be a citizen of India, and must be an elector in any Legislative Assembly Constituency in the State. He must ordinarily be resident in the State.

A person, to be chosen to the Legislative Assembly, must be a citizen of India, and must have attained the age of twenty five years, and must be an elector for any Assembly constituency in the State. In the case

39. Ibid., Art. 171 (3).
40. Ibid., Art. 172, Cl (2).
41. Ibid., Art. 173 (c).
42. Ibid., Art. 173.

of a seat reserved for the Scheduled caste or the Scheduled tribe, he must be a member of any of those castes or of those tribes and is an elector for any Assembly constituency in the State.[43]

Disqualifications :

A person is disqualified for being chosen as, and for being a member of the Legislative Assembly or Legislative Council if he holds any office of profit under the Government of Karnataka or Government of India other than those declared by the law of the State not to disqualify its holder; if he is of unsound mind as declared by a competent Court; is an undischarged insolvent; is under any acknowledgement of allegiance of adherence to a foreign State.[44]

The other grounds of disqualifications are:— (a) conviction by a court, having been found guilty of a corrupt or illegal practice in relation to election; (b) conviction by a Court of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment for not less than two years; (c) failure to lodge an account of his election expenses within the time and in the manner required; (d) directorship of any Company or Corporation in the capital of which the Government has not less than 25% of the share; (e) dismissal from Government service for corruption or disloyalty to the State .[45] No person shall be a member of both Houses of Legislature of the State or two or more States.[46]

Privileges :

Members of the Legislature enjoy certain privileges both collectively and individually. By virtue of the responsibility entrusted to them they are placed on a higher pedestal than ordinary citizens while discharging their duties as members of the Legislature. Whenever these rights are disregarded or attacked by an individual or authority it means a breach of privilege and such breaches are punishable by the House concerned. The members of the Legislature enjoy certain privileges like, freedom of speech, immunity for a member for action in a Court for anything said or any vote given in the House or in its Committees and also immunity for a person who arranges publication of proceedings under the authority of the House. Other privileges such as freedom from arrest and molestation, the right to exclusive cognisance of matters arising within the House, right to inflict punishment for breach of privilege and contempt *etc.*, are akin to those prevailing in and available to the members of the House of Commons in England.[47]

43. Ibid., Art. 173 (c). R.P. Act.
44. Representation of the People Act, 1951, Ch. III, Sec. 8, 9 & 10.
45. Ibid., Ch. III, Sec. 7 (a) (f).
46. Constitution of India, Art. 190.
47. Ibid., Art. 194.

Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council are entitled to receive such salaries and allowances as may from time to time be determined by the Legislature by law.[48] Accordingly, the Karnataka Legislature salaries Act, 1956 was enacted to regulate the salaries and allowances of the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman, the Speaker, and the Deputy Speaker, the leader of the opposition, the Government Chief Whips and the members of the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council.[49]

Committees of the Houses:

In a Parliamentary system of Government, Committees are a necessary adjunct of the work of the Parliament. The entire house cannot consider certain matters in great detail owing to the limited time available at the disposal of the House. The task of legislation requires certain expert knowledge during the deliberations of the House so as to feel the public pulse on certain proposals of legislation. The Committees help to realise better and more constructive co-operation of the different parties in the House. Thus the Committees make legislative work smooth, efficient and expeditious. With these objects in view provision has been made in the Rules of procedure for the setting up of small Committees consisting the members of the Legislature. The members of the Committees are either nominated by the Presiding Officers or elected by the House or appointed on a motion moved in the House to that effect.

These Committees are:— Business Advisory Committee, Select Committee on Bills, Joint Select Committees, Committee on petitions, Committee on public Accounts, Estimates Committee, Committee on Public undertakings, Committee of Privileges, Committee on subordinate legislation, Committee on privite member bills and resolutions, Committee on the welfare of Scheduled castes/Scheduled tribes; House Committee, Library Committee, Committee on Government Assurances, and Rules Committee, *etc.*[50]

1. *Business Advisory Committee:* At the commencement of the Assembly, a business advisory committee consisting of the Speaker and ten other members will be formed with Speaker as the Chairman for one year, or until a new Committee is constituted whichever is earlier. Similarly, in the Legislative Council, a Business Advisory Committee is constituted with Chairman as Presiding Officer with six other members nominated by him, for one year. The main function of the Business Advisory Committees is to recommend the time that should be allocated

48. Ibid., Art. 195.
49. Karnataka Act No. 2 of 1957 as amended by Karnataka Legislature Salaries Act, 1978.
50. Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Karnataka Legislative Assembly, Ch. XXIII.

for the discussion of the various stages of bills and other subjects coming up before the Houses.

2. *Select Committee on Bills:* Usually the member in charge of the bill, the Minister for Law, and Minister in charge of the department concerned are members. The other members of the Committee are appointed by the Assembly when a motion of that bill is referred to a Select Committee. Non-members may be present at the meetings. The Select Committee may hear expert evidence and representation of special interest affected by the measure. The report of the bill is generally published in the Gazette.

3. *Joint Select Committee:* Joint Select Committee is constituted by both Houses to consider a bill in accordance with proportion of 3 : 1 not exceeding twenty members excluding the member in charge of the bill, the Minister in charge of the department to which the bill relates and the Minister for Law who will be nominated as a member. The Joint Select Committee elects its own Chairman. The procedure and powers of the Committee are the same as those of Select Committee of the Assembly.

4. *Committee on Petitions:* The Committee on petitions is constituted by each of the Houses at the commencement of the Assembly as well as the Council from time to time. The Committee consists of the Deputy Speaker who is the Chairman and four other members nominated by the Speaker in the case of Assembly, and in the case of Council the Deputy Chairman who is the Chairman and four members nominated by the Chairman of the Council. The term of the Committee is two years or until a new Committee is constituted. It examines every petition referred to it. It is the duty of the Committee to report to the respective houses on specified complaints made in the petitions after taking such evidence as it deems fit and to suggest remedial measures.

5. *Committee on Public Accounts:* The Committee on Public Accounts is constituted by the Legislature every two years. The Committee consists of 15 members. 12 members from the Legislative Assembly and 3 members from the Legislative Council elected by the members of their respective Houses according to the principle of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote.[51] The Chairman of the Committee is appointed by the Speaker. Generally the Leader of the opposition in the Assembly will head the Committee. No Minister can be a member of this Commitee.

The Public Accounts Committee examines the accounts of the appropriation of sums granted by the Assembly for the expenditure of the State Government and other accounts laid before the Legislature.

51. Ibid., Sec. 251.

The appropriation accounts, the Finance Accounts and the Audit reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General on the accounts of the State relating to various departments form the basis on which the Committee functions. In scrutinising the accounts, the Committee has to satisfy itself that the money shown in the accounts as having been disbursed were legally available for, and applicable to, the service or purpose for which they have been applied or charged; that the expenditure conforms to the authority which governs it and that the money granted by the legislature has been spent by Government "within the scope of the demand."

It is also the duty of the Committee to examine the statement of income and expenditure of State Corporations, Trading and Manufacturing Schemes, Autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies together with their balance sheets and profit and loss accounts. It assumes the role of an expert body particularly in view of its association with Comptroller and Auditor-General. The decisions and recommendations of the Committee shall have effect on the future expenditure of the Government and lead towards improvement in the financial management. Thus the Public Accounts Committee is a search-light on the Financial machinery of the State.

6. *Committee on Estimates*: The Estimates Committee shall consist of not more than fifteen members who are elected by the Assembly from among its members according to the principle of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote. No Minister can be member of this Committee and the term is two years or until the next Committee is appointed. The functions of the Committee are—to report on the economies, improvements in organisation, consistent with the policy underlying the estimates, for efficiency or administrative reforms; to suggest alternative policies; to examine whether the money is well laid out within the limits of the policy; and to suggest the form in which the estimates are to be presented to the legislature.

7. *Committee on Public Undertakings*: The Committee consists of 12 members, nine are elected from the Assembly and three are from the Council for period of one year on the principle of proportionate representation by means of single transferable vote. No Minister can be a member of this Committee. The main work of the Committee is to examine the reports and accounts of the specified public undertakings and to examine, in the context of autonomy and efficiency of the public undertakings, whether the affairs of the public undertakings are being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices; and to exercise such other functions vested in the Committee on public accounts, as may be allotted to the Committee.

8. *The Committee of Privileges*: Each house has a Committee of Privileges. The Committee in the Assembly consists of nine members

of whom seven are elected by the Assembly in accordance with the principle of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote, and two members are nominated by the Speaker at his discretion. The Committee's term is one year or until the next Committee is appointed.

The Committee in the Council consists of seven members of whom five are elected by the Council in accordance with the principle of proportional representation and two are nominated by the Chairman of the Council. The term of the Committee is two years or until a new Committee is appointed. The Committees so constituted examine and reports on every question referred to them by the respective Houses, and determine with reference to the facts of each case whether a breach of privilege is involved and if so, the nature of the breach, the circumstances leading to it and make such recommendations as they may deem fit.

9. *Committee on Subordinate Legislation:* Legislature is mainly concerned with basic policies and confines itself for making laws and leaves the details to the Executive for formulating rules and regulations. In order to prevent the Executive from abusing the power of legislation and to see that the delegated power is properly exercised, a Committee on subordinate legislation is constituted. This is one of the standing Committees of the Karnataka Legislature. It consists of 12 members of whom eight are elected by the Assembly and four by the Council from among its members on the principle of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote, for a period of two years. The Committee is empowered to scrutinise and report to the Legislature whether the power to make Rules, Regulations, sub-rules, bye-laws conferred by the constitution or delegated by the Legislature are being properly exercised within such delegation.

10. *Committee on Government Assurances:* In each of the House a Committee on Government Assurances is constituted consisting of eight members in the case of the Assembly, and five members in the Council elected on the principle of proportional representation for a period of two years, to scrutinise the assurances, promises, undertakings, *etc.*, given by the Ministers from time to time on the floor of the House and to report on the extent to which such assurances have been implemented, and where implemented, whether such implementation has taken place within the minimum time necessary for the purpose.

11. *Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions:* This Committee consists of eleven members including the Deputy Speaker, who is the Chairman of the Committee. The remaining ten members are elected by the Assembly from amongst its members for a period of one year or until a new Committee is constituted. The main function of the Committee is to examine all private member's bills and to

scrutinise whether or not any provision of such bills seeks to initiate legislation outside the legislative competence of the Assembly and to recommend time limit for the discussion of Private members' resolutions and ancillary matters.

12. *Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled castes/Scheduled tribes :* Karnataka State is a pioneer State to constitute such a Committee on the welfare of Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribes in the year 1969.[52] This Committee consists of 12 members of whom nine are elected by the Legislative Assembly and three from the Legislative Council for a period of one year. A Minister cannot be a member of this Committee.

The functions of the Committee are :—to review the progress and implementation of welfare programmes and other ameliorative measures as also constitutional safeguards for Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes in the State ; and to suggest ways and means of realising the objective of Government policy to bring about improvement in the conditions of these classes in the shortest possible time.

13. *House Committee :* To consider and advise on all matters connected with the conveniences and comforts of the members of both Houses, a Committee called the House Committee is constituted. The Committee consists of Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Deputy Chairman of the Legislative Council and 12 other members of whom eight elected from the Legislative Assembly and four from the Legislative Council. The term of the Committee is two years. During the term of the Committee Deputy Chairman acts as the Chairman of the Committee for one year and the Deputy Speaker acts as Chairman for the second year.

14. *Rules Committee :* Rules Committees are constituted by the both Houses for considering the existing rules of procedure and to suggest changes if need be.

15. *Library Committee :* The Library Committee is constituted to consider and advice upon matters connected with the library of the legislature. The Committee shall consist of the Speaker of the Assembly and Chairman of The Council and tight members, five from the Assembly nominated by the Speaker and three from the Council nominated by the Chairman. The Committee shall hold office for two years or until the next Committee is appointed whichever is later.

Legislative Function :

The Legislature of Karnataka must meet at least twice a year and the interval between any two sessions should not be more than six

52. 267 D—Rules of Procedure in L.A., p.103.

months.[53] The Governor of Karnataka enjoys a right to address the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Council or both the Houses assembled together. At the commencement of the first session after each general election to the Legislative Assembly or at the commencement of the first session of each calendar year, the Governor must address both houses and inform the causes of its summons.[54] As the Governor is the constitutional head of the State, his address is merely a statement of Government policy and certain amount of solemnity and dignity is attached to the occasion. The address is then debated and finally voted upon in the form of a resolution expressing thanks to the Governor.[55] During this debate the opposition parties get the opportunity to criticise in general the policies and programme of the Government embodied in the Governor's address.

The main functions of a Legislature are:

(i) To make laws;

(ii) to sanction revenue and expenditure for the Government; and

(iii) to control the executive.

One of the main functions of the Legislature is law making. All legislative proposals are brought before the houses in the form of bills. The Constitution of India and the Rules of Procedure in the Karnataka Legislature have prescribed certain procedure to be followed for the introduction, consideration and passing of the bills.[56] A bill other than a money bill, may originate in either of House of the Legislature.[57] On these bills, the Legislative Council has power to interpose some delay in the passage of the bill for a period of three months. Thus the Legislative Council is not a revising but mere advisory or dilatory chamber. If a bill is passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council rejects the bill or passes it with such amendments as are not agreeable to the Assembly or does not pass the bill within three months from the time when it is laid before the Council, the Legislative Assembly may again pass the bill with or without further amendments, and transmit the bill to the Council again. On this second occasion, if the Legislative Council again rejects the bill, or proposes amendments, or does not pass it within one month of the date on which it is laid before the Council, the bill shall be deemed to have been passed by both Houses, and then presented to the Governor for his assent.[58]

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53. Constitution of India, Part-VI, Ch. III, Art.174.
54. Ibid., Art. 176.
55. Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, Sec. 18 & 19.
56. Constitution of India and Rules of Procedure, Art. 208.
57. Constitution of India—Art. 196.
58. Ibid., Art. 197.

Thus, the Legislative Council has no co-ordinate power. In case of disagreement between the two Houses the Will of the Assembly shall ultimately prevail. Hence, there can be no deadlock between the two Houses. The above procedure is applicable only for the bills originating in the Assembly. In the case of a bill originating in the Legislative Council and transmitted to the Legislative Assembly if the Assembly either rejects the bill or makes amendments which are not acceptable to the Council there is an immediate end of the bill. [59]

Budget :

Another important function of the Legislature is the financial control. In every financial year, the Governor should cause to be laid before the Houses of Legislature a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure or the annual financial statement which is also called the Budget. [60] The Budget is presented to the Legislative Assembly by the Finance Minister on such date as the Governor may fix, and on the same day it is also laid before the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council has no power except making recommendations to the Assembly for amendments or to withhold the Bill for a period of 14 days from the date of its receipt. The Council has no power to reject a money bill. The recommendation of the Council may be accepted or rejected by the Assembly. The decision rests with the Assembly. If the Assembly does not accept any of the recommendations, the bill is deemed to have been passed by the Legislature in the form in which it was passed by the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, if the Legislative Council does not return the money bill transmitted by the Lower House within a period of 14 days from the date of the receipt in the Upper House the Bill is deemed to have been passed by the Legislature at the expiry of the period of 14 days. As such there can be no deadlock between the two Houses.

The Budget is dealt with by the Legislature in two stages, *viz.*, a general discussion and consideration of Appropriation Bill. If there is no sufficient time to pass the budget within the financial year, there is provision in the Constitution for making grants in advance for part of a financial year pending the completion of the necessary procedure for the grant of the amount by the Legislature. This is called 'Vote on Account'. [61] If the amount granted by the Legislature for a particular service is found insufficient for the purpose supplementary or additional grants for that year may be asked. The Rules of procedure allows discussion of such estimates and discussion is confined to the items included in the estimates. In case of urgent necessity for a new service

59. Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business, Sec. 120.
60. Constitution of India, Art. 206.
61. Rules of Procedure, Karnataka Legislative Assembly, Sec. 171.

which was not contemplated earlier, Contingency fund in the nature of an imprest amount is placed at the disposal of the Governor to make advances to meet such emergency.[62] This amount has to be recouped to the fund later.

The Central function of the Legislature continues to be the supervision of the Cabinet which is responsible to the Legislature. This is done by asking questions, debating Government policies and measures, passing resolutions, tabling adjournement motions and, if need be, removing it from office by passing a no-confidence motion. The Legislature which comprises of both Ruling and Opposition parties must not only give support to the Government but also serve as an instrument of ventilating the grievances of the people and must exercise general control.

62. Karnataka Contingency Fund (Amendment) Act, 1965.

Resume

Ever since its founding in 1399 the rule of Mysore Royal Family in the erstwhile Princely State of Mysore, continued till 1947, except for two brief periods—one in 1760-1799 and another in 1831-1881. Prior to 1799, Mysore was an independent State. The Ruling Family enlarged its territory by military conquests. The Bahamani's the Moghuls, the Maratas, the French and the English were all connected with Mysore. Bijapur Mahammadens tried to obtain a foot hold in the country. Sovereign ruler Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar by his military prowess as well as Statesmanship added Bangalore to his dominion and saved the province from foreign danger by his diplomatic moves with Moghal Emperor Aurangzeb who had overthrown the Bahamani Kingdom. [1]

When Dalvoys became a distinct factor in politics of Mysore, the real power in the State passed out of the hands of the Ruler. Then the King tired of one Dalvoy Nanjarajaiah, sought the aid of Hyder Ali who was then Fouzdari of Dindigal, successfully liquidated him. The power over army and finances were transferred to Hyder Ali to stop the inroads of troublesome foes like Nawab of Sira and the Marathas. [2] Since he was the arbiter of the situation became the *De Facto* Ruler by preserving the Royalty in its shade. Hyder Ali enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom in every direction and made it the foremost power in the entire South. [3] Tippu, his son and successor had done away with Royal family and usurped the throne by assuming the title of Sulthan, till his fall in 1799.

With the end of House of Hyder, Mysore lost its independent sovereign status by coming under the suzerainty of British. Lord Wellesley installed Sri Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar on the throne with Purnaiah as Dewan, Colonel Bary Close as Resident, and Sir Arthur Wellesley as Commander of the Division. Under the combined influence of these three, the State flourished well. After Purniah's retirement as Dewan the young King assumed the full responsibility of his office. Soon, unscrupulous elements and hungry courtiers surrounded the Maharaja and squandared the treasury which made the taxation heavy. The Government was so corrupt and dis-

1. Ch. I, p.19.
2. Ibid., p. 20
3. Ibid., p. 21

organised that a full scale rebellion broke out which could not be quelled even by the troops. The Ruler was deposed by the British in 1831 under the clause 4 and 5 of the subsidiary treaty and the reins of Government were taken over by a British Commission. [4]

The deposition of the Maharaja by the Company was a hasty measure but it turned out a blessing in disguise to the people and the State of Mysore as it heralded the foundation of constitutional Government in the place of patriarchal and personal rule. The administration was methodically systematised. A new bureaucratic machinery was built up to tone up the administration on modern lines. This period was the age of Macaulay's minute of western education and Wood's despatch on the State control of public instruction. The State also came under the influence of educational programmes of the time.[5]

There was no legislature. Only five codes of instructions were operating. Most of the work was regulated by circular instructions. Gradually certain laws like Punjab Limitation Act, the Indian Penal Code and Procedure Code were introduced as an experimental measure. [6]

When the Mysore administration was restored to native rule in 1881, the administration of Mysore in all respects fairly compared with that which prevailed in British territory. In brief, the Commission Rule left a good legacy for the State to develop itself on sound and progressive lines. Still, as an adequate safeguard against any prejudicial changes under its future rulers, certain conditions were incorporated in the Instrument of Transfer, in the nature of a Constitution of Mysore, which prescribed the internal and external obligations of the Ruler towards the British.

At the time of rendition, an executive council with Dewan as ex-officio President was appointed to conduct the administration of the State. [7] Taking the clue from the last Chief Commissioner Sir James Gordon, a deliberative body of Representative Ryots and Merchants, the first of its kind in the entire country, was brought into existence by Dewan C. V. Rangacharlu. This Assembly became the basis for the popular institution which met thereafter annually at State festivities, *Dasara* to express its views on matters of general concern of the State.[8]

As the Assembly rose in importance, its work increased, its composition enlarged and its interest widened. After a decade, rules were framed for proper conduct of the business of the House. By extending electoral rights to the people, the selective house became an elected body. Its duration was changed from annual to triennial. Its

4. Ibid., p. 26.
5. Ibid., p. 32.
6. Ibid.,
7. Chapter-II, p. 41
8. Ibid., p. 43

membership rose from 144 to 351, embracing wide variety of interests in the State. [9]

Very soon the members imbibed the Parliamentary functional methods and qualities of moderation, patience and perseverance. The work of the Assembly even gained the appreciation of the Viceroy Lord Dufferin. [10] On the untimely death of Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar in 1894 a Regency Council of three whole time members with Dewan as the Chairman, was created to assist Maharani Kempananjammanni to carry on the administration during the minority of Prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar-IV. This executive council initiated the rudiments of a Cabinet system of Government to grow in future. [11] The Council was expected to take more active share in the business of the State more or less as an Executive Body, but was not a success as a corporate body.

When Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar-IV assumed the administration of the State a new scheme of administration and a new form of representative body came to be evolved despite the intentions of the original framers of the Mysore Constitution at the time of rendition. The position that emerged in 1902 was that the ministry was responsible to the Maharaja for the Executive administration of the State, that the Ministers and Councillors were jointly responsible to the Maharaja for the advice they tendered in regard to the general measures of administration. This branch of the Executive was in the nature of a consultative Council. The Representative Assembly was a valuable adjunct to the administration by enabling the Government and the people to understand each other on the measures of Government. [12]

Hitherto, almost all the laws that were in force were adopted from the British Indian legislation with such modifications as were called for local circumstances. Even to change any aspect of law that was in force at the time of rendition it could have been done only in consultation with the paramount power. [13]

Sustained efforts were made from the beginning by the members of the Representative Assembly for the establishment of a Legislative Council on the lines of those of British Indian Provinces. With the spread of education in the State, the progressive administration needed new legislation which must reflect the opinion of both official and non-official members of the Representative Bodies in the State. Hence, it was considered expedient by the Ruler to associate a few non-official

9. Chapter II p. 49
10. Ibid., p. 50
11. Ibid., p. 58
12. Chapter III, p. 66
13. Ibid., p. 71

members qualified by practical experience and knowledge of local condition and requirement in the process of law making.[14]

The Legislative Council Act was promulgated in March 1907 for making laws and regulation for the State, though the creation of this institution was viewed by the paramount power with qualified enthusiasm by stating that the introduction of Legislative Council was not to diminish the responsibility in the legislative matters vested with His Highness, it would intend solely to enable him and his Government to ascertain correctly the needs, wishes and feelings of the people.[15]

Even this Legislative Council began as a nominated body with good deal of reservations. Apart from the function of legislation, it could not enquire into grievances, call for information or examine the conduct of the Executive. The Council was more a mouthpiece of the Government than a real house of legislature. However, the constitution of the Legislative Council was a welcome-some measure, as an experiment in democratization and hoping to become a truly representative body in the legislative affairs of the State.[16]

After eight years, the strength of the Legislative Council was raised to twenty one. A kind of indirect election was introduced to fill eight seats of non-official members. The right of asking questions on matters of public importance together with supplementaries, discussion on budget without the power of vote and moving resolution were conceded. These concessions were intended only to associate the representatives of the people to bring some influence on the policies and activities of the Government. [17] It was M. Visvesvaraya, as Dewan, who tried to secure more rights to people and widened the people's association with administration by allowing discussion on the budget by the Representative Assembly, granting the privilege of interpellation, increasing the session of the Assembly from one to two in a year. The duration of the Legislative Council was also extended from two years to three years term. The franchise of the Assembly was widened by lowering the qualifications both for membership and voting.

By 1919, the composition of the Legislative Council was raised to thirty, with thirteen elected and seventeen nominated. Among nominated, twelve were officials and five were non-officials ensuring in the Council a clear non-official majority.[18] The property qualifications for the membership of the Council was lowered and the powers of the Council were enlarged by allowing the Council to move resolutions with certain restrictions. By these measures though the

14. Chapter III, p.72
15. Ibid.,
16. Chapter III, pp.74, 75.
17. Ibid., p.80.
18. Chapter III, p.89.

Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly served to establish a close link between the people and the Government, they did not correspond to the two chambers of a bicameral legislature.[19]

Although the Representative Assembly was established four years earlier than the birth of Indian National Congress, it did not become a nucleus for arousing political consciousness amongst the people of Mysore, as the activities of the Assembly were mainly confined to the methods of Moderates, viz., politics of prayer, petition, and representation. When the Indian National Congress became militant in the neighbouring provinces of British India, its influence had been felt in Mysore State which resulted in formation of a number of parochial as well as patriotic associations with limited objectives. The leading communities and castes having become conscious of their bargaining strength, organised their social groupings.

Ironically, both parochialism as well as patriotism had its origin initially in the enlightened community of Brahmins.[20] Most of these associations started with limited goals and gradually assumed political overtones and began to demand greater opportunities for education and larger share in the administration and services of the State which took the form of non-Brahmin movement under the inspiring guidance of the Justice Party of Madras. The significant achievement of the movement was the adoption of Education Memorandum of Dr. C. R. Reddy and an order on the Miller Committee report by the Government for amelioration of the conditions of backward classes in Mysore.[21]

The subtle moves on the part of the paramount power to keep the influence of the Congress in limits, indirectly popularised its activities which resulted in a go-slow policy of the Government in extending political concessions to people. But the Seal Committee had to be set up to meet the genuine requests of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The promulgation of the Acts XVIII and XIX of 1923, was a forward looking measure for the participation of people in the Government and administration of the State, as it made a beginning of constitutional Government in the place of autocratic rule.[22]

The powers and functions of the Representative Assembly were clearly defined by Statutes and Rules. It was made obligatory on the part of the Government to place the general principles of every bill before the Assembly.[23] Opinion of the Assembly had to be obtained for any new taxation.[24] The right of moving resolution on budget

19. Ibid., p.90.
20. Chapter IV, pp.98, 99.
21. Chapter-IV, pp.101, 104.
22. Chapter-V, pp.131, 145.
23. Ibid., p.134.
24. Chapter-V, p.136.

relating to general principles was expanded. Inequality between urban and rural representation was removed by rationalising the Constituencies. [25] Labour was represented for the first time in both the Houses. Communal electorate was ruled out. Minority representation was secured by a system of facultative representation. [26] Nomination was only a safety valve to meet an extraordinary situation. Representing the people's wants, desires and grievances, the Assembly served the purposes of an initiative to the legislature. [27]

While the Representative Assembly was the epitome of the people owing to its wide base and large composition, the Legislative Council was a compact body of different function of shaping and formulating legislative measures for the well-being of the people, embodying its collective wisdom and virtue with a large outlook on the theory and art of Government. [28] The Act ensured the non-official majority. Minorities and depressed classes were ensured a minimum number of seats. [29]

In matters of legislation, the list of excluded subjects were so reduced as to bring all matters of internal administration within the purview of the Council. [30] The Council enjoyed substantial powers over finances in assenting, rejecting and reducing the demands for grants except those coming under the prerogative of the Ruler. [31] By expanding the franchise the electoral base of both houses was widened. A distinct differences were kept between voters of Legislative Council and Representative Assembly. [32]

The system of representation not only ensured protection to the interests of rural population but also secured harmony, unity and concord among the people as a whole. The Constitution of Standing Committees which were popular and non-bureaucratic in character and composition helped to maintain close contact and rapport between the Government and the people. Thereby the reforms afforded greater scope and opportunities among the leading urban and rural people to develop friendship and common fellowship based on certain interests and sentiments.

In the years that followed, the qualifications of the voters to the Council were reduced. Restriction on women to stand for elections was removed. . Proportional representation to the city constituencies and

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25. Ibid., pp.133, 137.
26. Ibid.,
27. Ibid., p.125.
28. Ibid., p.143.
29. Chapter-V, p.137.
30. Ibid., p.140.
31. Ibid., p.142.
32. Chapter-V, p.138.

redistribution of seats in certain rural constituencies were brought into effect. [33]

If the period between 1918-1928 witnessed the emergence of intense consciousness among non-Brahmin community, the decade that passed between 1928-1938 saw the gradual decline of communal forces fecilitating their merger in the national mainstream of Indian National movement. [34]

The unrest and malcontent that prevailed in the latter decade was the reflex of events in British India and the fluid situation in Mysore State. The Ganesha disturbances of Bangalore projected the malcontent, but a little later, in the wake of provincial autonomy at work in the various British Indian provinces, both Brahmins and non-Brahmins joined hand in hand for a common cause of demanding responsible Government. [35]

The resolution on the States at the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress spurred the Congress party in Mysore to emerge as a potential political party with a demand for responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja.[36]

A major break-through in the constitutional reforms in response to the popular aspirations of the people was the constitution of a Committee of officials and non-officials under the Chairmanship of K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar in 1938 which suggested further reforms after consulting all sections of the people including political parties, in the light of experience gained under 1923 Act and also keeping in view the stability, good Government, tradition, continuity and political status of Mysore in the context of Paramount power.[37]

The Ruler in Mysore, being the source and sanction of law, was also executive head of the State. His sovereignty symbolising *Dharma* was not opposed to the democratic ideals. The contemplated devolution of power was achieved gradually, steering clear of the autocratic rule on the one hand and the tyrannical majority rule on the other. The rule of benevolent monarch following *Dharma* was a great protection against the misrule of either type. The system evolved by the Committee was that the administration was to be entrusted to a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to both His Highness the Maharaja and the legislature, for peace, order, good Government with safeguards to minorities and other sections of the people.[38]

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33. Chapter-VI, pp.147, 148.
34. Chapter-IV, pp.101, 114.
35. Chapter-VI, pp.155, 160, 161, 162.
36. Chapter-VI, p.163.
37. Chapter-VI, pp.164, 165.
38. Chapter-VI, p.178.

The Representative Assembly's right of being consulted on general principles of all legislative measures and amendments was widened but its subordinate status in law making process continued.

The legislative Council became a respectable body by its composition widened, duration extended, having its own elected President and Vice-President enjoying the status of a Minister. The Council evolved its own rules and procedure. It had the power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of the State and its subjects, except the excluded items and the bills opposed by the Representative Assembly.[39]

The Government retained the right to introduce such bills as were of public interest by giving reasons for such introduction. The emergency measures of the Government had six months validity unless withdrawn earlier by His Highness the Maharaja.[40] In the annual financial statement the excluded subjects were kept outside the purview of the houses. The budget was placed before the Legislative Council in the form of demands for grants and the Council had the power to assent, or reject or reduce any amount. The decision of the House was binding on the Government except the amounts certified as necessary for the discharge of Government's responsibility.[41]

A separate department of legislature was organised when both the Houses were brought under the consolidated law in 1940, to improve the working of legislature on matters like holding sessions, marking files, supplying extracts of proceedings, other miscellaneous items. The dignity, honour and prestige of the Council was enhanced when this department was put under the main control of the President of the Council subject to general supervision of the Dewan.[42]

The Ministry under the new Act had two Councillors and two non-official Ministers. But the non-official Ministers though drawn from the Representative Assembly, were not made responsible to the legislature. This was considered a major deficiency in the system evolved.[43]

In brief, there was nothing extraordinary in the Government of Mysore Act of 1940 in terms of policy or organisation of the Government. But, it aligned and harmonised the political aspirations of the enlightened opinion on the right lines which served as a base for the growth of responsible Government in Mysore. As the Act created responsive institution, it marked an important step in the continuous and well ordered process of constitutional development which was initiated nearly sixty years ago. The enthusiasm with which the new Act was received

39. Chapter-VII p.191.
40. Ibid., p.193.
41. Ibid.,
42. Ibid., p.206.
43. Chapter-VI, p.181.

could be seen in recaptulation of the volume and variety of work done by the two houses.[44]

The working of the legislative bodies in settling several intricate questions of practice and procedure were undoubtedly difficult tasks. Yet, earnest attempts were made over years to establish healthy conventions and good traditions on the lines of those prevailed in advanced legislatures elsewhere.

Amidst working these reforms, far reaching changes came in quick succession at the National Political scene. The Constituent Assembly of India had been set up under the Cabinet Mission plan to frame the new Constitution of India. Mysore State was represented in the Constituent Assembly by seven members including the Dewan Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliyar.[45] The Indian Independence Act passed by the British Parliament in July 1947 provided for the lapse of suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States. With the lapse of paramountcy, the transition being smooth and dignified, Mysore became an integral part of the Indian Dominion.[46]

In tune with the spirit of the times and in response to the demand of the Congress party through an agitation, the Dewan announced political concessions which were in substantial measure approximated to responsible Government. As a consequence, an interim ministry headed by Sri K. C. Reddy was formed on 24th October, 1947 with a mandate to set up a Constituent Assembly for framing a constitution for Mysore.[47] The Constituent Assembly after a few deliberations resolved to adopt the Constitution of India for the State. Effect was given to this resolution on 25th November, 1949.[48]

The Representative Assembly, which was brought into existence in 1881, to bring representative ryots and merchants of the province in immediate contact with Government, which grew up into an institution of initiative and referendum thereby ensuring safety to the State and contentment to the people, was finally dissolved along with the Legislative Council on the eve of Constituent Assembly converting itself into provisional legislature of Mysore. The provisional legislature was replaced by the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council which were constituted after the first general elections in 1952, under the provisions of the Constitution of India.[49] These transformations brought the political institutions of Mysore into complete constitutional relationship with the Union of India.

44. Chapter-VII, pp.198, 203, 204.
45. Chapter-VIII, pp.211, 214.
46. Ibid.,
47. Ibid., p.218.
48. Ibid., pp.220, 221.
49. Chapter-VIII, pp.224, 226, 227,

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